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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Walter White, Carl Murphy

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NAACP BOARD MEMBERS *Dr. George D. Flemmings, Texas; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Virginia; Dr. Algernon Black, New York City; Crisis editor James W. Ivy; and board member Samuel Williams, New Jersey; listen to reports at NAACP annual meeting held in the Willkie Memorial buliding, New York City, on January 7.*

Additional annual meeting pictures may be found on the next two pages.

CHAIRMAN OF THE NAACP BOARD, *Dr. Louis T. Wright (left), New York City, and board member S. Ralph Harlow, of Northhampton, Mass., at annual meeting.* BOTTOM: *Atty. Earl B. Dickerson (standing), board member, Chicago, Ill., asks a question at annual meeting. Seated (L to R) are Atty. Theodore Spaulding, board member, Philadelphia; Gloster Current, director branches; and Hon. Hubers T. Delany, board memebr, New York City.*

AMONG OTHERS *at annual meeting were (L to R) Richetta Randolph, former office manager NAACP; board member Dr. James McClendon, Detroit; third man not identified; back row, field secretary Ruby Hurley, board member Kelly Alexander, Charlotte, N. C.; and Father Thomas Little.* BOTTOM: *James Allen, Grace Mott Johnson, Mrs. Gorgine Morris, Mrs. Lillie Jackson, Mrs. Amy Spingarn, Rufus Smith, and Major Frederic Morrow.*

Cairo School Situation

THE inaction of state officials, so far, in the explosive Cario, Illinois, school situation has been deplored by the NAACP. Spokesman for the Association met with the Illinois legislative committee in Springfield in Februray and with representatives of Governor Adlai Stevenson.

The meeting was held at the request of the NAACP after a series of racial flare-ups that have accompanied attempts of the Association's field workers to help implement an Illinois statute that forbids segregation in public schools.

Cross-burnings, shootings and bombings took place at the time Negro children were scheduled to be transferred to previously all-white schools. On February 7 eight persons spearheading the integration movement, including NAACP field secretaries June Shagaloff and Lester P. Bailey, were arrested and charged with conspiracy to "endanger the life and health of certain children" involved in the transfer actions.

The legislative committee's meeting on February 14, presided over by State Senator Corneal Davis, was attended also by Joseph Lohman, representing the governor; Attorney-General Ivan A. Elliott; a Mr. Hudson, general counsel for the superintendent of public instruction, Vernon L. Nickels; Fred Smith, a state representative; a group of committee members present by proxy; and the group representing the parents of the Negro pupils, including Miss Shagaloff and Mr. Bailey.

Mr. Hudson, under fire of questioning from the group, said that he had no power to do anything in the Cairo matter because of the "ambiguity" of the Illinois statute that created the office of the superintendent of public instruction. The consensus of opinion was that responsibility for spervision of schools rests with this superintendent.

George N. Leighton, president of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, acting as spokesman for the parents, said after the meeting: "In our judgement the responsibility rests with the office of the superintendent of public instruction, a duly elected official of this state. We consider it an instult to attend a meeting dealing with a matter so important only to be confronted by evasive attempts on the part of the responsible official stating that in substance he can do nothing about a case that had attracted nationwide atention."

Mr. Bailey and Miss Shagaloff returned to Cairo after the meeting to assist in preparations for legal action to be taken by the NAACP to force the city to go ahead with the integration program.

In January the Cairo public school system was threatened with suspension of financial assistance from the state if it did not eliminate segregation. Such assurance were given then

to Lester Bailey, NAACP field secretary, by Mrs. Lucy T. McPherson, county superintendent of schools, following presentation to her on January 30, of twenty affidavits of Negro parents charging discrimination against their children.

The fight to open the "white" schools of this last stronghold of jim-crow in the state of Illinois has been spearheaded by the Cairo branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with the assistance and guidance of Lester Bailey and June Shagaloff of the NAACP national office.

The initial effort to bring school policy in Cairo in line with that of the remainder of the state was met by an outbreak of violence in the community, including the attempted bombing of the home of Dr. U. F. Bass on January 29 and a shotgun blast at the home of Dr. J. C. Wallace on January 28. Both are leaders in the fight to end jim-crow in Cairo.

Transfers had been requested for 84 Negro children after school officials had promised prompt processing of these applications. However, when the children were taken to the schools at the opening of the new term on Monday, January 28, they were sent home and told that their transfers had not been processed and that they should return to their former schools. They did not return to the Negro schools. This formula was repeated the following day. On Wednesday one Negro child was reported admitted, but when she returned for the afternoon session she was met by such a hostile crowd that she did not enter the school.

In addition to the bombing and shooting there have been cross burnings and other attempts to intimidate the Negro community. Despite these threats, the parents are holding firm and intend to carry this fight through to the finish.

Each of the affidavits presented to Mrs. McPherson by Lester Bailey charged that "the delay in processing my child's transfer is deliberate in that an unreasonable period of time has elapsed since I first made application for a transfer to the school nearest our home and that the deliberate delay in the processing of my child's transfer is an act of discrimination on account of race and color on the part of the Board of Education and the Cairo school superintendent and is designed to maintain and perpetuate segregation on account of race and color in Cairo public schools."

When presented with these affidavits, Mrs. McPherson, according to Mr. Bailey, said: "You know what this means. It means suspension of state aid to the Cairo schools pending investigation of these charges."

The Cairo schools have been receiving something in excess of $200,000 annually from state funds. Under an amendment introduced by State Representative Charles J. Jenkins of Chicago, "no part of the money appropriated by this act shall be distributed to any school district in which any student is excluded from, or segregated in, any public school . . . because of his race, color or nationality."

■ Negroes do not share in the great spirit of New Mexican democracy

The Negro in New Mexico

By R. L. Chambers

PART of the stock in trade of businessmen and public officials of the tourist-conscious state of New Mexico is the verbal reminder given visitors that in the sunny Land of Enchantment dwell three cultures which live side by side in an aura of good will. New Mexico's great heritage, it is pointed out, is this warm feeling to peoples of all colors and all creeds.

There is nothing in this Chamber of Commerce type of welcome about the place of the Negro in New Mexico, but most visitors assume that he too shares in this great spirit of democracy.

The fact of the matter is that the after-dinner speakers and official greeters are trying desperately to pump up a myth that these same people deflate daily as they go about their business. There is as much to the spiel of cultural good will between "Anglo" and Spanish-speaking New Mexican as there is to the supposition that the Negro shares this complete freedom in his social and economic life. Because of the failure to realize the actual situation and the blind insistence on attributing to the state a racial pattern that does not exist, it has been almost impossible to improve race relations in New Mexico. While there have been many opportunities to cut across racial barriers, the result of this attitude has been a cementing of the discriminatory pattern.

The reasoning of public officials and many civic leaders goes like this: Why talk about civil rights? New Mexico is clean on that score. All this talk about a Fair Employment Practices Commission and civil rights ordinances just stirs up trouble.

During the 1949 regional conference of a group concerned with the education of the Spanish-speaking people, the governor of New Mexico welcomed delegates and remarked that, as they all knew, New Mexico could offer them a bright picture of

R. L. CHAMBERS, *who lives in Sante Fe, is a newspaperman by trade. He has written many articles for newspapers and magazines about the problems of minority groups in New Mexico.*

friendly groups with no trouble between the dominant culture and the minority groups. But, as a speaker at the conference was to point out, the city of Albuquerque, which played host to the delegates, has several businesses which refuse to hire Spanish-speaking employes.

The present governor after eleven months in office failed to appoint a Fair Employment Practices Commission, which was created by a 1949 statute. It is his own contention that such agencies as the FEPC and their backers only serve to stir up trouble in a peaceful community of cultural and racial groups.

LEGISLATURE UNCONCERNED

The legislative branch of the state government is equally unconcerned. The only vociferous members of the state legislature have been opponents of civil rights measures. In the 1949 senate debate on the FEPC bill, one senator called the measure setting up the FEPC "one of the most vicious bills I have ever seen . . ."

Another senator flatly termed it a "nigger bill . . . originated in Russia . . a social equality bill . . ."

The after-dinner speakers and official greeters were not around the day this speech was made. Nor were they treated to one of the most amazing spectacles ever seen in legislative history when a measure was introduced in the 1951 session to abolish the state law permitting the segregation of Negro school children.

New Mexico is one of the few states outside the south with such a law. It is ignored in central and northern New Mexico. But in almost a dozen eastern and southern New Mexico cities, Negro students must attend separate schools.

The measure to abolish this law was approved unanimously in a senate education committee. But once it appeared on the floor it ran smack into trouble. Instead of arguing the merits of the bill, its opponents, seeing a strong alliance between the liberal and Spanish-speaking senators, took another approach. They delivered a carefully planned attack on the public sponsors of the measure.

When the bill was discussed before the senate, its backers were called upon to testify. Hobart LaGrone, an official of the New Mexico unit of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had to spend considerable time defending his Americanism. The questioning was not on the bill but on the political hue of its backers. A handful of senators from eastern and southern New Mexico communities made it appear that all who backed the bill were either fellow travelers or had their orders from Joe Stalin's henchmen.

The effect on the large bloc of Spanish-speaking legislators was significant. Senator after senator rose to explain that he was against any kind of discrimination, but he was also against communism and since something was wrong with the proposal that had its base in communism, the proposal certainly could not be approved.

The noose was put around the bill when one senator termed the measure "Kremlin-sponsored and written by Joe Stalin." It was unanimously agreed to send the bill

back to committee, where it was quietly placed in a pigeon hole and buried.

Actually, New Mexico's Negro population needs such a measure to put an end to segregated schools, just as it needs a strong FEPC.

Although the law permitting segregation requires schools for Negro students to have equal facilities to those for white students, the differences are appalling. In Roswell, one of the state's wealthiest communities, the Negro school consists of a run-down building with two classrooms. There is no library, no laboratories. The school contains no office equipment for commercial courses. The high school for white students, however, has a $3,300 biology laboratory, a $3,000 chemistry laboratory, and a physics laboratory worth about $4,000. The high school for white students has 9,433 books in its library.

CRASS ATTITUDE

So inadequate is the Negro high school that the State Department of Education has refused to accredit the school, which means that its graduates cannot be admitted to any college in the country.

In another city, Las Cruces, which is the governor's home town, the attitude of city education officials is even more crass. The city has a school for Negro students. But it does not bother to list this school with the state. Thus, the school is not subjected to state regulation and cannot be denied accreditation since it technically does not exist. Graduates of the segregated school receive diplomas from the regular high school.

This situation has existed for some time. Yet, it appears that the state's newspapers are discovering its implications for the first time. They too, apparently, had basked in the verbally-constructed aura of good will. However the decision of the city of Hobbs, another wealthy oil city in eastern New Mexico, to spend $127,000 on the construction of a school for Negro children shattered that dream for some newspapers.

The Taos newspaper, *El Crepusculo*, stated:

"New Mexico has long been known as one of the most 'tolerant areas' in the United States. Populated by three racial groups—Indians, Spanish-Americans and Anglos—it has fought for four centuries, through the domination of three successive national governments, to achieve this racial tolerance. Today we are proud to acknowledge as equal New Mexican citizens those of Indian, Spanish or English blood.

"The segregation of Negro-American children in Hobbs' new schoolhouse is completely out of keeping with New Mexico's long tradition and present belief. It is contrary to American democracy. And in these troubled times when world and racial interdependence is a prerequisite to peace, it is a dangerous and perverted precedent."

The New Mexican, a daily newspaper in Santa Fe, saw a dangerous move in the appropriation of such a large sum.

"Segregation seems out of place in New Mexico. We have none of the conditions here that appear to support the practice in the old south. We only further an old evil that all

the nation is trying to eliminate by arbitrarily keeping the practice alive here. It is commendable from one view that Hobbs is spending a respectable sum to provide classrooms for its Negro children, but the very size of the investment seems to guarantee that there is no thought over there of abandoning segregation in the schools."

NEWSPAPERS DISINTERESTED

But few New Mexico newspapers take much interest in the worsening cultural and racial situation that has been developing ever since the 1920's when large numbers of newcomers settled in New Mexico. These persons came from the south, most of them from Texas. They settled along the Texas-New Mexico border where oil and underground water opened up a new area to exploitation.

The state's newspapers were disinterested for the most part in a recent incident in one of these "Little Texas" communities.

Fifteen-year-old Billy, a student at Santa Fe's St. Michael's high school, went to Roswell with his teammates for a high school football game. He accompanied them to the eastern New Mexico community, just as he had to other cities for games. And when he was in Roswell, he went into a restaurant with his friends, just as he had in other cities.

But there was something different about his reception in the city of Roswell. The restaurant owner pointed out that his business was with people of southern origin, that a Negro youngster in the restaurant might spoil the appetites of some customers.

Tyler Dingee

BILLY MOON *found discrimination at work in New Mexico when he accompanied his teammates to an eastern New Mexico city and tried to eat in a restaurant and enter a movie theatre.*

Billy could eat in the kitchen if he wanted to. The youngster, who is president of the freshman class, did eat in the kitchen—with the rest of his teammates who joined him behind the pots and pans. The youngster's first taste of racial discrimination was to be a big one, an almost overwhelming example of a man's inhumanity to man.

Later in the day, several members of the football squad wanted to see a movie. Billy was not permitted to enter with his friends.

The restaurant owner and the manager of the motion picture theater claimed they had business interests to protect. Their customers are southerners, they argued, and therefore southern prejudices must be considered.

DISCRIMINATION CONTAGIOUS

But the sad fact of racial discrimination is that it is contagious, that once started it cannot be stopped. It cannot be cheked as to the areas it might spread to and the groups which might fall prey to the growing disease.

The facts about discrimination against racial and cultural groups in New Mexico bear this out. Albuquerque is the state's largest city. Its population of 100,000 persons has been considered cosmopolitan, intelligent. If anywhere in New Mexico the so-called harmony of the cultures should exist, it should be in Albuquerque. But discrimination against Negroes is well known in Albuquerque. One day this year a young man with several hours to spend between trains entered a restaurant near the railroad station. No sooner had he passed through the door than he was told by the proprietor: "We don't serve Negroes here."

The young man left. Several days later the Albuquerque City Commission received a note from a California educator. The young man, the letter pointed out, was a citizen of Ceylon, an exchange student in a California university. Would the city commission explain to the student that the proprietor's attitude was not that of the city as a whole? The commission unanimously voted to send a letter of apology to the student. There is no record of any Negro being sent an apology for mistreatment in any Albuquerque restaurant or hotel, though the incidents are legion. Apparently one must be a foreigner to receive the hospitality of the city of Albuquerque.

The situation in the state's largest city is worsening, so an organization appointed by the city commission has determined. The committee was appointed in 1950 and delivered its report late in 1951. It found that "the practice of discrimination against Negroes in Albuquerque is increasing, rather than decreasing, as the city grows." Discrimination against Negroes is widespread in the city. Of the businesses contacted during the committee's study, 36 percent of them stated flatly that they definitely did not serve Negroes. Fourteen percent said they prefer not to have Negroes as customers, and two percent gave Negroes limited service. Sixteen percent did not answer this question, so that the great majority of businesses which have a policy on this matter were definitely anti-Negro in their services.

[*The Albuquerque City Commission passed an anti-discrimination ordinance on February* 13 *barring discrimination in public places because of race, creed, ancestry, or color.—Ed.*]

OPPOSED EQUALITY

Not only were the real estate dealers, restaurant owners, barbers, hotel managers and others against serving Negroes, but they also

LA FONDA HOTEL, Santa Fe—*for white only. The list of Negroes it has rejected could make up a Who's Who of Negroes. The hotel restaurant also draws the color line hard and fast.*

pointed out that they would oppose any city ordinance requiring equal treatment of all persons, regardless of race or religion.

The committee which studied the problem found that the only solution, however, was passage of such a statute for the city. Under the recommendation, any discriminatory act committed against a person "for reasons of race, creed or color . . . be declared unlawful under penalty of revocation of license to operate such a place of accommodation." The committee defined places of accommodation as any business holding a city license, which would include almost every type of business in the city.

In Santa Fe, the situation is not much different. Santa Fe, the oldest capital in the United States, probably has the greatest aura of respectability about it of all New Mexico cities. But the story is the same. When the De Paurr Negro chorus was to appear in Santa Fe for a recital, local people were amazed to learn that no hotel in the city would accept Negro guests. Nor would any of the leading restaurants serve Negroes.

The Negro employes of vacationers in Santa Fe find they cannot stay

(*Continued on page* 196)

MAN OF THE YEAR—*Carl T. Rowan (left), Minneapolis Morning Tribune staff writer, was named by the Minneapolis Junior Chamber of Commerce as the "outstanding young man of 1951." Rowan, 26, is shown as he receives a pin and scroll from Minnesota Governor C. Elmer Anderson at the Jaycees annual awards dinner. Rowan, head of the Minneapolis Urban League, is believed to be the youngest man in the nation to hold such a position. Rowan gained national recognition for a series of articles, "How Far From Slavery?" documenting the position of the Negro in today's South. A book based on the articles, which ran in the Minneapolis Morning Tribune, will be published in the late spring by Alfred A. Knopf, New York publisher. The book will be called "South of Freedom."*

■ How Negro students have adjusted to interracial colleges

Problems At Interracial Colleges*

WHAT is the experience of a Negro student in entering and adjusting to life at an interracial college? Like a cross-section of all students, he is sometimes an outstanding success, occasionally a dismal failure and, most of the time, just another student getting an education.

Does a Negro student, however, have any special problems with which to cope because of his race? The answer depends on the student and on the college. Often he has, but wise counselling, as well as inclusion in the admission procedures of individual testing and evaluation, are the best guarantees of solving these problems, or of eliminating them altogether.

This hypothesis is best illustrated by the histories of the admissions and adjustment experiences of a few of the students whose college careers NSSFNS helped to launch.

Thomas P. Fraser III, of Baltimore, entered Dartmouth college in 1949 with the help of a full-tuition scholarship from the college. A history major, planning for study for the ministry, Fraser has been active in the Dartmouth Christian Union as Chairman of its Foreign Relief Commission, and a leading intramural basketball player. He writes warmly of the "men at Dartmouth . . . strongly knit together, whose friendships are, in the main, deep friendships that last for a lifetime."

Graduated from a Columbia, South Carolina, high school, Goldia Dargan is now a sophomore at Rockford college, Illinois. She applied for admission only two months before the beginning of the semester, at a time when, coincidentally, the National Scholarship Service had asked to recommend a girl to whom the students might award scholarship funds they had raised. Goldia was recommended and accepted. Expenses for her freshman year were covered by funds from home, part-time earnings, scholarship awards from the college and the student

* Reprinted from *Opportunity News in Interracial Colleges* by permission of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, New York City.

DNS

DARTMOUTH *juniors run through class problem. Thomas Frazer III (center), of Baltimore, studies with Henri Williams, Washington; Ray Luebbe, Scarsdale, N. Y.; Horace Kay (barely visible), Philadelphia; and Leo Clancy, Arlington, Mass.*

body and by NSSFNS supplementary assistance.

During her first year, Goldia maintained a B average, and was elected to the school's honor roll. She worked as a waitress in the dining room, took an active part in dramatics, joined class committees, and became a member of her house council. By her sophomore year, she was elected a class officer and "a member of so many committees, I hardly have any time to myself."

COLLEGE SUCCESS

Eileen Griffith, now a sophomore at Barnard college, launched her college career equipped only with the ambition to become a lawyer, $120 per year to apply towards college expenses, and a spotty high school record that led her and her high school counselor to question whether she would be able to make the grade at college.

Originally aiming for colleges at which competition for admission was less keen, she was advised by NSSFNS to apply to Barnard, because it was discovered that she might qualify for one of the two scholarships offered by local 32B, Building Service Employees Union, for the daughter of a member. She ranked third in the competitive examination but nevertheless, between her earnings, savings, and a supplementary award from NSSFNS, she managed to enter Barnard and to finance her first year. With a freshman record of four B's and one C, she won a Barnard scholarship, and a renewal of the NSSFNS award for her sophomore year.

ROCKFORD's (Ill.) *Goldia Dargan (on floor), of Columbia, S. C., helps bring Christmas cheer to her college with classmates Carol Klath, Patty Fall, and Molly Rideout.*

Hamilton BPR

PRE-MEDICAL *junior at Hamilton college, N. Y., Irving Reid (third from left) pauses for a chat with Fritz Battenhausen, Eric Selch, and Richard Tuthill.*

Active in welfare and human relations work, she is a member of the college NAACP chapter, the Barnard Development Fund, and the Food Committee.

Irving Reid, a Mamaroneck, New York, high school graduate, is now a Junior at Hamilton college, one of the oldest institutions in the nation. A pre-dental student, he was admitted with the aid of a scholarship from the college and a part-time job. Reid tentatively selected Hamilton because a close friend at high school was headed there. After a visit to the campus, he decided to apply.

In his freshman year he became a member of the choir, and played intramural basketball. He later became captain of the track team and was one of five students elected to the junior honorary society. By the close of his sophomore year, Reid was in the top sixth of his class, a class officer, and a member of a 70-year-old fraternity, the Emerson Literary Society. Says Reid of Hamilton, "It is a nice small college, and Negros are well received by the faculty and student body. I think I made a good choice."

PROBLEMS COMPLEX

What are some of the more complex problems met by Negro students? One of the first few to enter a given school may find a student body curious about him; or he

may find hostile groups as well as those being overprotective. In many instances, he will find himself looked upon as a symbol of his race, rather than as just another student.

A small-town, Illinois boy, for example, a member of the only Negro family in his community, was the first Negro student to enter a mid-west state teacher's college. The curiosity of his classmates led to frequent questions about Negroes, and, after a time *Ebony*, the Negro pictorial magazine, became one of the popular items of student reading. To students who may follow him, he states that, since most of the students have never seen a Negro before, "they are likely to say things without thinking."

For many girls, the social situation is trying, and, as in the case of a southern student attending a small, mid-west college, can be aggravated by a hostile community.

One of the first Negroes to enter the college, she was well liked by the student body, and a good student. She observed that for a Negro to attend an all-white school takes courage and ability to take the "ups-and-downs."

"When I attend social gatherings to which white boys are invited, I like

Manny Warman

BARNARD COLLEGE (N. Y.) *sophomore Eileen Griffith (center), of New York City, exchanges smiles with classmates Judith Passoff (left) and Sarah J. Weaver in the Annie Nathan Meyer drama library.*

to be looked at as a girl, and not as a specimen. When I go into a restaurant in town with other girls, I like to feel I'm just another student, and not someone who is being served as a special favor."

INDIVIDUAL MORALE

The student who is going through personal adjustment problems, arising from family relationships, may face even more trying times at college.

There is, for example, the case of the Negro boy at an Ivy League college whose morale plummetted downward with his first semester grades. Graduated with high honors from a first rate high school, he may be thought of by some as a Negro who "couldn't make the grade" at college, rather than as a young man with a personal problem. Were he not a Negro, he would not have to carry this additional burden of being a representative of his race.

In the four years of the counseling activities of the National Scholarship Service, several thousand students have been helped with their college plans. Many have gone ahead with their original choices in spite of or because of NSSFNS counseling. Many have been directed towards educational objectives that otherwise would not have occured to them because of preconceived notions of insurmountable difficulties or, simply because "there are certain schools to which Negroes just do not aspire."

There is a need for further study of integration on the campus and of the psychological problems facing the individual Negro in an interracial college. Meanwhile, more intensive and individualized counseling will help increase the incidence of success stories: success of an ordinary as well as an extraordinary nature.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the honor student at "France's West Point," Saint-Cyr, was called in school slang "Negro"?

When Marshall Marie Edme Patrice Maurice Mac-Mahon (1808-93) was president of France, he visited Saint-Cyr on one occasion and was presented with the honor student. President Mac-Mahon greeted him with: "So you are the Negro? Good! Keep on being one."

★ ★ ★

That Jean-Jacques Dessalines is said to have made the first Haitian flag by tearing the white out of the French tricolor?

Whereas the French national flag consists of three equal vertical stripes of blue, white, and red, the Haitian emblem consists of two equal horizontal stripes of blue and red surmounted by the Haitian coat of arms.

Good News

Detective Milton Smith of 2146 Carpenter Street, Philadelphia, Pa. has been named an acting captain and assigned to duty as commanding officer of the 23rd Police District, 19th and Oxford Streets, Philadelphia. This is the first time a Negro has been named captain and the first time a Negro has been named commanding officer of a district.

★ ★ ★

Judge William H. Hastie of the United States Court of Appeals was one of the distinguished American lecturers before the Forum on the Dynamics of Democracy, an assembly designed to promote better international understanding among a group of twenty-eight young German physicians now spending a 16-month internship in New Jersey community hospitals.

★ ★ ★

The Federation of Protesant Welfare Agencies New York City has appointed Joseph E. Davis as chairman of a special committee on home-finding promotion. Purpose of the committee is to publicize the need for more foster homes for children.

★ ★ ★

The United States Junior Chamber of Commerce named John H. Johnson of Chicago, Ill. publisher of *Ebony*, *Negro Digest*, *Tan Confessions*, and *Jet*, as one of the ten outstanding young Americans for the year 1951. Mr. Johnson is the first Negro businessman to receive this honor.

★ ★ ★

Nathan Tate, 13, of Decatur, Ala., recently received the Carnegie medal for snatching Lowell Reece from in front of an approaching train.

★ ★ ★

For the fifth straight year Sarah Vaughn has been named America's number one girl singer in the annual polls conducted by *Down Beat* and *Metronome* magazines, both leading music trade journals.

★ ★ ★

Joe Walcott, heavyweight boxing champion, received the Edward J. Neil Trophy for having done the most for boxing in 1951.

★ ★ ★

Howard Swanson, 43-year-old composer, become the first Negro to have a composition selected by the New York Music Critics' Circle when

his "A Short Symphony" was named the best new orchestral work played in New York City during 1951.

★ ★ ★

The 1951 Jefferson Award of the Council Against Intolerance was presented posthumously to Harry T. Moore of Mims, Florida. Mr. Moore and his wife Harriet were killed in the Christmas bombing of their home. The Jefferson Award is granted, annually to Americans who have been outstanding in furthering Jeffersonian principles.

★ ★ ★

Harry J. Walker of Cleveland, Ohio, is the new information expert in the municipal court and the Cleveland police courts.

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KELLY ALEXANDER, *president N. C. state conference, addresses state-wide NAACP meeting in Bethel Institutional Baptist church, Jacksonville, Fla., January* 20. BOTTOM. *Saturday, January* 19, *session of the state-wide conference held in A. L. Lewis YWCA Jacksonville, Fla.*

■ This lively article points up the uniqueness of the racial problem in Japan

Report From Japan: Comments on the Race Question

By Hugh H. and Mabel M. Smythe

THE Occupation-sponsored Civil Information and Education Library in Yamaguchi City, Japan, had a striking display on the bulletin board. In a prominent spot announcing recent accessions was a brightly colored jacket advertising the book *Little Black Sambo;* directly beneath it was the picture of United Nations' Dr. Ralph J. Bunche adorning the cover of the July-August issue of the Far Eastern edition of the *Voice of America*, the State Department's overseas propaganda pamphlet. Thus even in the Orient the American race problem intrudes and assumes striking form. This unfortunate bit of advertising started a trend of thought regarding the color question in Japan. Here is a brief report.

Although the Japanese saw some of the material benefits of machine-age America during the six years of Occupation, they also witnessed the less glorified side and were exposed to America's best known non-commerical export—racial discrimination. Under the Occupation discriminatory signs against the Japanese were everywhere. This was expected official military government policy. But the Japanese did not expect America's two-army structure — one white, one black. They pondered this unusual condition and wondered: how could this be when America was making such an effort to democratize them? The belated change in July, 1951, by the Department of Defense to a policy of racial integration in the Far East Command came too late to create any positive democratic impression.

When the Korean war began they soon learned of the derogatory manner in which American soldiers referred to Koreans as "Gooks." The Japanese knew this was the white G.I.'s Oriental synonym for "nigger." Being Orientals, too, they nat-

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urally figured that the G.I.'s thought of them in similar terms. The Japanese were, of course, commonly subjected to the American white man's lumping phrase, "They all look alike to me." But in spite of this, white American Occupation personnel had very little adverse influence upon Japanese attitudes on race. In this nation of colored people it would indeed have been unusual if the American brand of racialism had taken root.

The care with which American Occupation authorities kept the Japanese in ignorance on racial conditions in the United States was brought out quite vividly on November 6, 1950. During the world tour of Dr. James H. Robinson, a Negro minister of New York City, he addressed community members and the student body of Shiga National University in Hikone, Japan. During the question period a Japanese asked him if there weren't still slaves in America. Even after Dr. Robinson replied in the negative, he still had to reassure other qestioners, who have heard Negroes were still slaves, that not even "undercover" (as one questioner put it) were there any Negro slaves, although he did paint an honest and factual picture of discrimination and segregation against Negroes, Japanese, and other minorities.

DISTORTED IDEAS

This points up a problem that the Occupation could have avoided. Under the GARIOA (Government Aid to Individuals in Occupied Areas) program of sending Japanese for a year of study in institutions in the United States, had the Institute of International Education in New York City operating the American end of the program for the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers assigned some of the more than 800 students to even a few Negro schools such ideas, on the part of students at least, would not be entertained. For Japanese GARIOA students stand to benefit so much from broader contacts; and some of the seriously distored ideas current in Japan on the race problem in America would be corrected by open and prolonged opportunities to examine the situation without the barrier of distance. While SCAP and the Institute might have felt it to be embarrassing, perhaps, to display the doctrine of segregation in American education in this connection, it is far worse to have people in other countries believe that there is still a situation tantamount to slavery in the United States today.

But racialism is not new to the Japanese, for they are historically a racially conscious people. However, the basis of their attitude rests upon a foundation far different from the white supremacy feeling that characterizes American Negrophobia. Aside from the fact that the mythical beginning of Japan readily lends itself to racial exploitation, it is within the last fifteen years that race consciousness was developed as a definitely planned program. In 1937, the education department of the central government in Tokyo published a book which made compulsory reading in all the public schools, the *Kokutai no Hongi* ("Fundamental Principles of the National Structure") It stated in effect that Japan was the land of gods, that the Japa-

nese being descendants of such and a race of unique divine attributes, it was their sacred commission to save the world, that she was divinely ordained to share with less fortunate nations the blessings of her superior institutions. This heady word-wine was poured into the Japanese from then on and it was upon such a foundation that the wartime slogan, "Asia for the Asiatics," was so easily developed as political propaganda and promoted to advance the cause of the Japanese militarists.

SECOND FACTOR

The overpopulation of Japan is another factor contributing to the awareness of the racial question. The 84,000,000 people on the four small main islands (smaller in size than the state of California) naturally make for a population problem the solution of which in part calls for the emigration of some Japanese. Although a public opinion poll by the *Asahi Shimbun in* November showed that a large number of Japanese are anxious to emigrate now, yet the Japanese realize that being colored it is difficult for them to find countries where they are welcomed as immigrants. In the Pacific area the one logical country, of course, is Australia. It is highly underpopulated with about 8,000,000 inhabitants, but the undemocratic "white Australia" policy and the exclusion of all colored races prevents Japanese from going there. As yet the Japanese have not been vocal about this official colorphobia, for in their present circumstances they are in no position to demand its elimination. But this Australian racial exclusion policy is going to remain a trouble spot in the Far East until some decent and humanitarian solution is found.

So Japan has looked to the West to absorb some of her excess population. For several months the Japanese press carried intermittent reports of large-scale migration and settlement of Japanese in South America, particularly Brazil. However, on September 14, the Japanese Foreign Office denied an Agence France Presse dispatch from Sao Paulo that 600,000 Japanese were to be settled in the State of Matto Grosso within the next six months. It is significant, too, that Peru has refused to readmit some 300 Japanese who were deported from there and interned in the United States during the war. The United States is trying to get the United Nations Special Commission on Prisoners of War to relocate them in Peru or elsewhere, since America's Asiatic quota exclusion laws make them ineligible to remain in the United States. There are reports that Argentina is looking favorably upon Japanese immigration.

SMOLDERING RESENTMENT

The Japanese observe all of this with an outward passiveness. But the recent past, when racialism was featured as a dominant theme, is still close enough to influence their thinking. They noticed that the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference had no colored delegate who occupied a commanding or key position; and the local press pointed out that the Japanese ought to keep in mind that although the United States had sponsored and pushed through the

treaty, the Japanese must not forget that they are returning to the colored world, to the Asiatic family of nations, not the white world of the West.

Even more significant evidence of the possible smoldering racial feeling is found in the editorial remarks of the *Jiji Shimpo,* concerning the planning for world defense. On May 8, 1950, it pointed out, "Nothing hurts the pride of the Asian peoples more than the irresponsible statements to the effect that Europe should be defended against Soviet aggression in preference to Asia." It went on to ask, "Why should Asia's security be of only secondary importance? What is the criterion that makes Europe superior to Asia?" And then it pointedly states, "Some people even may declare that the Europe First principle is supported by nothing but a theory of the white man's superiority over other races."

In Japan the minority group problem, of course, does not assume the proportions that it does in America. Although racially Japan is not a "melting pot" nation, yet it has minority groups and some of these have experienced treatment similar in some respects to that of the Negro in the United States. To the Eta people ghetto living is traditional, and discrimination and segregation are not unknown to them. For centries they have had their "place" in the Japanese social structure and were forced to stay in it. Also, the Ainu, who reside mainly in the northernmost main island of Hokkaido, have been treated as a pariah group. Only a 12,000 remanent now remains and this group is disappearing from the Japanese scene. Thus this problem is being solved through gradual self-extinction.

However, recent years have seen a change for the better in regard to both the Eta and Ainu, and these groups have reached a stage of acceptance where they now rarely constitute any concern of a racial nature, although both still suffer from some discrimination. Intermarriage with them by Japanese no longer carries the stigma it once did and these people are gradually being accepted as an integral part of Japan's national culture and society.

KOREAN PROBLEM

The one minority group that still creates a problem is the 600,000 Koreans. Although historically their relationship with the Japanese dates back as early as the first century B.C., there has never been any real feeling of friendship between Koreans and Japanese. Recent history has only served to intensify the antagonism between the two, for it was not long ago that the Japanese were the bosses of a conquered, controlled, and exploited Korea. Likewise, the Koreans have not forgotten the outbursts of the 1920's when Japanese racial hatred was turned upon Korean residents in some of the large cities of Japan and hundreds of them were massacred and assaulted. Today in Japan there are still occasional flare-ups between Japanese and Koreans, and the latter are now quite vocal in expressing their feelings against what they claim to be practices of discrimination and segregation against them. There is no doubt of the underlying feeling of prejudice each holds for the other as the

following remarks typically illustrate.

A Japanese wrote to the *Nippon Times* condemning some social actions of Koreans in Japan and said that during the thirty-five years he lived in Korea the Japanese had never stormed public offices or violated laws. A Korean student replied, "Does he have no regret for the invasion of Korea by the Japanese nearly a half century ago or for the abuses which followed Japanese conquest of my country? The Japanese yet believe that 'might is right' in spite of their experiences of a long and evil war. We Koreans cannot see any regret or admission of guilt for the past among the Japanese. If all the Japanese are like the correspondent who wrote the letter, I cannot believe in the good will of the Japanese and cannot trust them."

OTHER ASIATICS

What Japan's attitude is towards other Asiatics is difficult to assess just now. The excesses of the Pacific War are still too fresh in the memory of the victims of her soldiery for the Japanese to show any definite stand yet in this regard. However, it is interesting to note that in September a Chinese, one Yung Wei, complained about Japanese police treatment. He pointed out that while they "are good and polite to the white people, they are quite different to those who have the same color of skin as theirs." And a citizen of Thailand, a Mr. Nopakun, was subjected to such indignities by the police with no provocation on his part, that on August 25 he made a vigorous complaint to high police authorities and to the public against the discriminatory attitude shown in his case. But it should be clarly understood that these are individual cases and as yet the attitude apparent in such actions is not general among Japanese.

Since Japan's destiny is closely interwoven with that of the United States and she is now in fact an ally under the Japan-United States Security Pact, Japan pays close attention to events in America. The Japanese press regularly carries reports of incidents in America which have a racial twist to them, incidents both good and bad.

Among others, it reported Congressional passage of a bill authorizing the coining of new Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver fifty-cents pieces, and pointed out that in hiring dancer Janet Collins, the Metropolitan Opera Association had employed the first featured Negro performer in its history. But along with this it did not fail to note the Cicero, Illinois, riot; the refusal of a cemetery official in the Midwest to accept the body of an Indian war veteran for burial simply because he was not white; and the killing of Negro seaman William Harvey by the captain of the Isbrandtsen liner, Flying Trader, while the ship was enroute to Japan from the Philippines.

OFFICIAL REACTION

It is, of course, difficult to secure official reaction to these and other incidents concerning race in Japan. Japan naturally professes belief in racial equality now. Under present conditions, in which she is striving to attain a very close rapprochement with the United States, it is impos-

sible to get any kind of official response concerning Japan's attitude in regard to the Negro problem in America or the color question in general around the world. Nevertheless, informed Japanese are aware of the American race problem and know from their own relations with America—both recently and in the past—that a feeling of real democratic brotherhood is still a long way from being realized or practiced by white Americans.

This is how race simmers along in Japan. In this colored nation, once a world power, the international significance of racialism is recognized, but Japan is not prepared yet to rechallenge the anachronistic western proponents of white supremacy. But time is on her side and the Japanese have had 2600 years of training in how to be patient. What the future holds in this direction only time will tell. However, there is evidence here that she has never forgotten the racial slights she suffered as a result of the American Exclusion Act of 1924, although this feeling necessarily had to be repressed during military occupation. Doubtless it will figure in her future plans once she has again become a strong and independent nation.

DID YOU KNOW —

That the French create a schism between Africans and French West Indians by calling the former *Nègres* and the latter *Noirs*?

French West Indians are often used as colonial officials in French African colonies and the government keeps the two groups divided by according preferential treatment to the Martinican or Guadeloupian. *Nègre* or Negro is often used pejoratively to suggest "savage" or "uncivilized." *Noir* or black is considered much more respectable. Africans, however, react to both white and black Frenchmen in the same manner, dubbing them *Toubabs*.

★ ★ ★

That the Martinicans believe themselves superior to the Guadeloupians because the Empress Joséphine was a Martinican?

Marie Josèphe Rose Tascher de la Pagerie (1763-1814), married to Viscount de Beauharnais in 1779, was born on the island of Martinique. Her husband was guillotined in 1794 and in 1796 she became the first wife of Napoleon Bonaparte.

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That Anthony Johnson (c. 1651) was the first free Negro and the first Negro landowner in Virginia?

Looking and Listening . . .

GI's GUILTY

In January three white paratroopers were charged with raping a 19-year-old Negro mother near Carthage, North Carolina. They were caught, tried, and convicted—not for rape, their actual crime, but for the lesser crime of assault on a female. In North Carolina rape is in the same category as murder and the punishment is death; but unless there is rape and murder, the supreme penalty is seldom paid by white men. It is reserved for Negroes who "rape" white women.

When Judge Zeb Nettles charged the jury he gave them the five possibilities of rape, attempted rape, assault, attempted assault, and innocent. But the jurymen, with one Negro on the panel, were probably firm believers in the old southern superstition that Negro women cannot be "raped" and therefore compromised on the "assault" verdict (maximum penalty two years) to save the GI's from the gas chamber.

Whereas three actual rapists became assaulters, because white, only several months ago a Negro farmer near Yanceyville became an "ocular rapist"—at 75 feet—because he was supposed to have ogled a white girl. The court tried to convict him of rape by suggestion and implication rather than by the facts, but a hung jury saved him, temporarily, at least.

If the law is any index of the general sex attitude of the state, North Carolina is a peculiar mixture of purity and prurience. It is one of the few states to make sexual intercourse between an adult female and a male minor statutory rape. Almost everywhere else it is simply contributing to the deliquency of a minor. You get five years for seduction, from five to sixty for sodomy, and you may be punished for telephone obscenity; that is, using lewd or profane words or indecent language to any female telephone operator operating a telephone switchboard circuit or line.

It was Voltaire's attorney-general of Dauphiny who once remarked: "The laws imitate their prejudices."

NO SEGREGATION

It seems that some southern cities are willing to accept top-flight Negro artists in non-segregated public concerts. Marian Anderson sang to a non-segregated audience in Jacksonville, Florida, on January 23; on January 25 she again sang to a mixed-Negro-white aduience in Miami, with sixty plain clothesmen, FBI agents,

and Miami and Dade county policemen mixing with the audience. In Miami it is said that about 60 percent of the 2,000 persons in attendance where Negro; the other forty percent were white.

Miss Anderson's contract will not permit her to sing before a segregated audience. If all outstanding concert artists had enforceable non-segregation clauses in their contracts, the South could not long afford the luxury of the segregated concert audience in a civic auditorium. Culturally, Dixie is still in many respects the "Sahara of the Bozart," especially in areas of music and drama. Hence the apostles of southern *Kultur* are much more likely to relax their segregation policies first in these areas. It is extremely hard to defend the separation of a music-loving audience on such an irrational basis as skin color. And this particular type of segregation seems to be getting less and less support in may southern municipalities.

ACCORDING to an Associated Press dispatch, a Hartford, Connecticut, Negro student was initiated into Wesleyan university's Delta Upsilon fraternity chapter on January 19 despite the possibility that the move might bring the chapter's suspension from its national organization. The fraters say they are going to put character and personality ahead of race and religion.

BAN UPHELD

WHEN W. L. Gelling, manager of the Paramount theatre in Marshall, Texas, ignored the city ban on the movie "Pinky," a study of race prejudice in the South, he was fined $200. Then the Court of Criminal Appeals upheld the fine. Now the case is headed toward the United States Supreme Court because the movie industry wants a ruling on censorship.

Many cities have censorship boards and in the South boards have from time to time banned a movie because its racial theme did not suit the taste of some local jackanapes. Objection is usually to presentation of the Negro as a human being in some minor scene. Since "Pinky" makes so many concessions to southern mores on race, one wonders what could be objectionable in the picture.

BASE BALL

ROGER BIRTWELL gives a comprehensive review of the Negro in organized base ball in the February 6, 1952, issue of the *Sporting News*, the base ball paper of the world.

Mr. Birtwell offers this observation on the five-year record of the Negro in the major leagues:

Through the five seasons since Branch Rickey broke the major league color line, no major league club using Negro players as regulars throughout the season has finished outside the first division.

Several of them have finished on top. Since Negro players were first used in the majors, there has been only one World's Series in which no Negro players participated. That was the Phils-Yanks Series of 1950.

The nearest approach to a team using Negro players for any length of time

and failing to make first division was the '49 Giants. They used Henry Thompson in 75 games and Irvin in 36—and finished in fifth place. But no Negro player was an all-season regular that year. . . .

Possession of Negro players naturally didn't yield automatic first-division ratings, but their use was a vital aid to the success of several teams. . . .

THE SPORTING NEWS also reports that Ty Cobb, a native of Georgia, has no "prejudice whatever to the participation of Negroes in any sport, professional or amateur."

"Anyone," says Ty "who qualifies as a gentleman is qualified anywhere regardless of his color, and the Negro should be accepted not grudgingly but wholeheartedly. The Negro has the right to compete in sports and who is to say they have not? They have seen competing notably in football, boxing, track and baseball and I think they are to be complimented for their gentle conduct both on the field, and, as far as I know, off the field."

SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR J. CHR. COETZEE of South Africa offers the following gem on the teaching of history in South African schools, as reported in the December, 1951, issue of *Die Onderwysblad*:

We are all interested in the general history of humanity, but for the Christian history has a greater value: he sees it in the way in which God's plan for men can be unfolded. . . . And there is a narrower field in which history has value. All people are bound to a fatherland, and there are few things of more importance than the history of one's own fatherland. Of all so-called secular subjects history is the most important, after the mother-tongue.

Precisely because the teaching of history must begin with, and be grounded on, the fatherland's history, instruction in history can never be neutral or colorless. *The history teacher himself must be a true patriot,* (ware vaderlander), *otherwise he cannot teach the fatherland's history.* [Our Italics] In South Africa then the teaching of history gives rise to a number of problems, because of the country's multi-racial structure.

The implications of this sort of dogma are obvious. It argues not only the superiority of the Afrikaner over the Native, but the English-speaking South African as well. And no one needs be told that it is the premise for denying South African Natives a history.

THE South African *Press Digest* reports this editorial on the special distinctiveness of the Afrikaner people:

We are grateful at least that our enemies still brand us as Calvinistic. We, as an Afrikaner people, have not yet denied our democratic past and we shall not deny our Calvinistic life-outlook either. In the political field we want to keep everything within the ordinances of God and His Word. . . . If we apply measures for apartheid then we are not acting against our Calvinistic past. Here too we wish to remain Calvinistic and to do justice to the Colored sections of the population of our country. . . . We were never repressive and we never will be, but we shall allow no one to prescribe to us what that calling is. We must honor the boundaries of races—which God established—as ordinances from God. If we do not do that we will head in the direction of a people without a culture, such as one sees Trinidad, and one has to visit the

Gold Coast only once to see what miserable conditions are brought about through a wrong Native policy. To take measures to secure our future as a White people and to allow the Natives to develop in their own areas and in their own way is truly not 'Calvinistic totalitarianism.' Our people and our government today more than ever before must show its own soul to the world.

J. G. STRYDOM, minister of lands, calls for a common color policy for all African territories. Speaking at a Nationalist party rally at Potgietersrust, Transvaal, the minister is reported by *Die Transvaler* and the *Rand Daily Mail* as being concerned with the failure of the Nationalist party to enlist the support of the English-speaking section of the South African population behind Nationalist racial policies. With regard to Africa as a whole, Mr.Strydon said that when the Europeans in southern Africa had reached unity with regard to the color question, they should make every attempt to convince all the colonial governments in the continent of Africa—the British, Belgian, Portuguese, and French—of the necessity of having a uniform policy towards the non-European to prevent the White man from going under in this dark continent."

Editorializing on Mr. Strydom's speech, *Die Transvaler* explained that:

Such uniform non-European policy for the greatest part of Africa would have long been an accomplished fact if the Europeans who have settled themselves in Africa permanently had all the say in this matter. But in other sections of Africa, political power rests in the hands of officials who are impatiently waiting for the day when they can return to Europe and draw their pensions. Their future and those of their descendants are not influenced by what happens in Africa. The fact that officials who are responsible only to a distant government in Europe have so great authority in the management of the non-Europeans, is one of the biggest hindrances in the path of reaching a common color policy in Africa.

Nevertheless, the Union Government would be shirking in its duty if it did not struggle towards a common policy. The future of the Whites in South Africa is dependent on the achievements of that aim. A full solution of the non-European question in the Union can only be reached if the Union enjoys the cooperation of other areas. The task of the Union is to convince the other territories of a need for a common policy and to bring them to the realisation that they have a common policy and to bring them to the realisation that they have also to accept the healthy principles of apartheid. Only in this way can the future of all White communities be ensured.

It used to be the *herrenvolk* creed of the Nazis; now it is the *heerskappy* of the South African Nationalists. But this time the chief victims are Negroes and the world shows little excitement over the mass degradation of a people.

ISRAEL

JULIUS WEIGERT, of St. Louis, Missouri, a member of the firm of Weigert-Dagen Shoe Co., Inc., and also the NAACP, complains that our item "to the effect that Indian Jews have been discriminated against by the Israeli because of their color has unfortunately been published by you out of context."

Mr. Weigert admits that "an individual apparently had made the remark as quoted," but explains that it "by no means reflects the attitude of the Israeli people towards colored people."

In a clipping from the January 25, 1952, issue of *Israel Speaks*, which Mr. Weigert enclosed with his letter, Ruth Cale gives the background information about "The Case of the Indians Who Wanted to Return." The problem is not one of color, but culture. "These Indians, though highly cultured, are psychologically the farthest removed among the Jewish communities that have come to settle in Israel, including even the Cochin and Burmese Jews."

Our intention in mentioning the incident was not to reflect upon the general attitude of the Israeli toward colored people, but to show the ubiquity of color prejudice. We have seen reports from time to time that Yemenite and North African Jews have felt color prejudice in Israel, and Jon Kinche's remarks as quoted in the *National Jewish Post* (October 27, 1950) seem to indicate this.

We are glad to learn that the "black bread" incident was individual and not indicative of a general trend.

FRENCH PRESS

THE Parisian press still evinces keen interest in the American Negro problem. *Le Figaro* (Moderate right independent) is now publishing a series of articles on the United States by the famous French sociologist Andre Siegfried. Dr. Siegfried, author of *America Comes of Age*, revisited the United States a few months ago to collect material for a new book on America and while here he talked with a number of prominent Negroes on the race problem. The third installment of his series (*Figaro*, January 4, 1952) is devoted to an overall picture of the American Negro problem, with special attention to the status of the Negro in the South.

Action (Non-official Communist weekly) devotes almost a whole page to an interview with Communist William L. Patterson. The editor's procedure was to read sections on the Negro from the bulletin of the American Information Service and then asks Patterson for his comments.

Action (December 13,1951) also devotes a long article to "Negro Persecution in the United States."

Combat (Independent Liberal), December 13, 1951 quotes Dr. Ralph Bunche as thinking that the Negro problem is being solved in the United States; mentions the bomb-killing of Harry Moore in Florida; refers to Walter Winchell's attack on Josephine Baker; and quotes Richard Wright as prefering Theodore Dreiser to William Faulkner.

Ce Matin (Conservative), December 21, 1951, devotes a piece by its special correspondent, J. Van Den Esch, to the status of the Negro in the North and the South.

Editorials

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

BY unanimous resolution the civil-rights leadership conference, initiated by the NAACP in February with the co-sponsorship of fifty-one other national organizations, placed on record its concern with congressional failure to end filibusters or to pass civil-rights legislation.

The 900 delegates of all races and faiths, who met in Washington, D.C., February 17-18, unanimously adopted the following declaration:

"Speaking on behalf of our respective organizations which have sent us to this 1952 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, we, the 900 delegates from 35 states, representing 52 national organizations, reaffirm our dedication to the attainment of a society of freedom, justice, equality and security for every American regardless of his race, color, religious faith, or national origin.

"To this end we call upon the United States to revise Senate Rule 22 which stands as the principal roadblock to the enactment of urgently needed civil rights legislation. Until this obstacle is removed, there can be no hope for congressional action against the forces of bigotry. Rule 22, requiring the vote of 64 senators—two-thirds of the entire membership—to stop a filibuster is in itself a negation of those basic principles of democracy so often, and, at times, so meaninglessly extolled upon the floor of the Senate.

"We ask also for the establishment of a federal Fair Employment Practice Commission with enforcement powers; for the abolition of the poll tax as a requirement for voting and for a federal anti-lynching law. Further, we call upon both major parties to include in their platforms a plank advocating a rule which will make it possible to curb filibusters by the vote of a majority of senators present.

"The failure of Congress to restrain the bigots among us through enactment of civil rights measures has brought about a wave of mob violence, bombing, shootings and 'legal lynchings' and has already proved costly to our nation in world prestige and in human life. We can no longer afford to pay the price in blood and money and lost respect abroad which intolerance exacts from all of us.

"We will consent to no 'cease fire' in the fight for full civil rights. We will not be intimidated by terror, nor will we succumb to defeatism. We shall carry this vital fight into the precincts where the people of America live and vote. We shall not rest as long as any American is daily forced to face the humiliation of racial discrimination and segregation."

PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS

THERE is always a good deal of speculation about presidential candidates on the eve of the national political conventions. There are "favorite sons" and presidential hopefuls.

Though what these hopefuls say usually sounds fine, what they have done or failed to do is even more important.

We have been checking the record.

Senator Richard Russell's record is what one might expect from a senator from Georgia.

While Senator Kefauver is far above the run-of-mine Tennessee politician, he is still Tennessean enough to straddle the fence on issues which vitally affect Negroes. He has publicly announced his opposition to FEPC. He voted in 1949 in favor of the Barkley ruling limiting debate, but he refused to vote in 1950 to break a filibuster against FEPC. Senator Kefauver likewise was one of the southern senators who voted for the defeated Russell amendment requiring segregation in the armed forces. He has put much more enthusiasm into his fight against organized crime than into his fight against organized bigotry.

General Dwight Eisenhower made himself quite clear on the question of segregation in the armed forces in testimony before the Senate armed services committee hearings on universal military training during the second session of the 80th Congress. The General explained that he took the welfare of the Negro soldier so to heart that he did not want to subject him to the "competition" of white soldiers in integrated outfits. That would be too "tough" for the Negro GI, the General explained. Furthermore, he added, you cannot make someone like someone "merely by passing a lot of laws."

Senator Robert Taft's record on issues vital to Negroes is one of double-talk, obstructionism, and opportunism. He favors FEPC — without teeth! And he has recently been touring the South in the hopes of picking up electoral votes should he be nominated.

Whether any of these men receive the nomination or not, Negro voters are going to remember their *past deeds* and not their *present words*.

HOW EXPLAIN?

SOME months ago, Howland H. Sargeant, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, declared that American citizens must help the State Department "give the other free peoples the opportunity to see American culture for what it really is."

Really? Even to the racism? We wonder if Mr. Sargeant means just what he says? One of his suggestions is that private groups in key communities take on the task of integrating foreign visitors into the local community. Can't you just see some cultured Nigerian being integrated by a distinguished Georgia white into the life of Atlanta, Georgia. Who is going to integrate a Chinese into the community of Southwood in South San Francisco, California?

■ The people of the Gold Coast are determined to achieve self-government

Bloodless Revolution in the Gold Coast

By George Padmore

UNLESS one visits the Gold Coast today, it is impossible for an outsider to realize the fundamental changes which are taking place in this West African colony. The country is passing through a "Bloodless Revolution" which is bound to have a profound influence on the country's future political, economic, and social structure, as well as traditional institutions and customs.

The recent sweeping victory of the Convention People's Party under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, one of the ablest politicians this country has produced, has only served to dramatize the long struggles of the Gold Coast Africans for national freedom, and economic emancipation of the country from foreign domination under British Imperialism. Ever since the chiefs and people came together to set up a Confederacy at Mankesin in 1871, every generation has carried on the struggle up to the present time. Despite their early set-backs, the spirit of freedom has continued to burn deep in the hearts of the Akan people, only awaiting the psychological moment to reassert itself. That moment has now come, and the common people like those of other colonial lands, are determined to achieve their legitimate aspiration to govern themselves. Fortunately for them, they have found an able leader in Dr. Nkrumah to pilot them through the strains and stresses which always accompany the awakening of an oppressed and exploited race or nation.

To appreciate the real significance of the national liberation movement now taking place, it is necessary to briefly review the past. The Gold Coast, which is one of the richest territories in the British Empire, was first visited by the Portuguese in the 15th century, followed by the Dutch and finally the British. The early Europeans were slave traders and

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for over three centuries millions of Africans were stolen and transported across the Atlantic to toil as slaves in the plantations of the early American colonies and the West Indies. After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, followed by emancipation in 1834, the British who had established a firm foothold in the coastal regions of the Gold Coast turned their attention to trade and commerce with the tribes inhabiting what is now known as the Colony area. In the course of their activities, the British settlers came into conflict with the warlike Ashantis, the last Akan people to enter the country from the north. After seven wars with the Ashantis, who had established a strong military confederacy in the 17th century, the British army marched into Kumasi, the Ashanti capital, and burnt the city to the ground. In 1896, the then King of Asantehene, Prempha I, was arrested, along with a number of his leading chiefs or "Nanas," and banished to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean. Having broken the military power of the Ashantis, the British formally annexed the country, which was later united with the Colony area to form the present Gold Coast territory.

In order to placate Ashanti national pride, the British, clever diplomats, permitted the exiled King to return to Kumasi with the title Kumasihene in 1924. His successor, King Prempha II, was made ruler of the country in 1935 under the old title of Asantehene. Since then the country has settled down to peaceful rule. So much for Anglo-Ashanti relations.

ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY

The coastal tribes who had assimilated Western ideas brought in by the early missionaries, who built churches and schools in the principal towns, were launched on the way to modern civilization. But they, like their Ashanti brothers in the north, longed for the old days when they ruled themselves. To give expression to their aspirations, the chiefs and their educated Westernized subjects attempted to carry on the tradition of the defunct Fanti Confederacy by organizing the first national movement known as the Aborigines Rights Protection Society in 1898, to protect the lands of the people when the then Governor, Sir William Maxwell, introduced two land bills aimed at converting the tribal lands into Crown property.

The Society dispatched a delegation to London and was successful in their mission by getting the then Secretary of State for Colonies, that arch-imperialist, Joseph Chamberlin, father of the former Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlin, to withdraw the proposed Land Bills. Thanks to the intervention of the Society the Gold Coast tribes are still in possession of their ancestral lands. Similar missions to Great Britain were undertaken by the Society in 1911 to oppose a Forestry Bill, which was another attempt by the British administration to encroach upon their land rights.

The last delegation of the Society to visit Britain was in 1934 to protest against the iniquitious Sedition Ordinance, officially designated the Criminal Code Amendment Ordinance of 1934. On this occasion

the mission was unsuccessful and as a consequence the British have been able until recent times to muzzle the press and stifle all forms of free public expression. About the same time, the governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, set about to break the influence of the Aborigines Society over the chiefs. With the aid of an able but very ambitious Paramount Chief, Nana Ofori Atta I, head of the Akim Abuakwa State, the governor introduced the system of "Indirect Rule," which Lord Lugard, the famous proconsul, had perfected in Northern Nigeria. Under the epuhemistic name of Native Administration the country has been saddled with one of the most reactionary forms of colonial government. To effect his policy, Sir Gordon Guggisberg got Nana Ofori Atta I to pilot through the then Legislative Council the Native Administration Ordinance of 1927, amended in 1944. By this brilliant piece of imperialistic strategy, the chiefs were recognized as the principal agents of the foreign power in matters affecting the tribes.

DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS

To supervise these chiefs and see that the orders of their British masters are carried out, European District Commissioners were appointed, under the direct supervision of Chief Commissioners, over the main regions of the country. These British officials are the real rulers over the Native States, for if any chief refuses to obey orders he can be dismissed by the governor even though such a man may still be recognized by his subjects as the lawful occupant of the throne or "Stool," the traditional symbol of the Akan people.

As time went on the chiefs became more and more divorced from popular control by their people. For the system of "Indirect Rule" has endowed the chiefs with powers which they never before exercised over their subjects, who, according to tradition, reserved the right not only of "enstooling" them but "destooling" autocratic chiefs. Deriving their new powers from the British rulers, the chiefs no longer had to obey their Counsellors and the common people. They could exploit and oppress their subjects as they liked as long as they served the interest of British Imperialism.

The chiefs are today a formidable power in the land. They are organized into a sort of "Native Parliament" called the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs. Through this Council, which has no executive powers, the Aborigines Rights Protection Society was undermined and today this once powerful organization is but a shadow of its former self. And Nana Ofori Atta I who was the principal architect of "Indirect Rule" was subsequently knighted in 1928 as a reward for his service to Imperialism. Today, the system of Native Administration has been challenged by the common people under the influence of an awakened national feeling which is sweeping throughout the length and breath of the Gold Coast. Many of the chiefs are being "destooled" by their own people, for the British Raj is no longer in a position to protect them without precipitating a serious political crisis between the British

administrators and the nationalist movement.

However, the tribesmen still retain a deep respect for chieftainship as an institution, but seem to object to only certain autocratic rulers. With the coming of the new constitutional reforms, the chiefs will be forced sooner or later to recognize the new shift of power from the hands of their foreign masters into that of the common people. Once this fact is recognized, there is no doubt that an aimable adjustment between chiefs and people will be arrived at and the chiefs restored to their former status as "constitutional rulers" over the people, subject to their conformity with traditional laws and customs.

Personally, it would be a regretable loss to the Gold Coast should the institution of chieftainship be liquidated; for they contribute to the cohesion of the tribal bond, and guarantees continuity of Akan culture, which has many fascinating features that need preserving.

Recently, I had the opportunity of attending a conclave of the Paramount Chiefs at their headquarters in the town of Dodowa, and was highly impressed by their regal bearing. Dressed in their traditional robes of office, worn like Roman togas, surrounded by their office bearers or Linguists with golden staffs, the assembly looked like the gathering of Roman senators! In a modern democratic society where life is already too drab, the chiefs lend color and pageantry with their ceremonial attire. The Gold Coast, therefore, will be a poorer place without the retention of chieftainship, not as agents of Imperialism and politicians, but as the fathers of their people, giving moral leadership to the new nation in the making.

NATIONAL CONGRESS

About the time when the Aborigines Rights Protection Society was beginning to disintegrate, there arose in this land the first really nationalist movement known as the West African National Congress. It was founded in 1920 by a distinguished African lawyer and statesman James Casley Hayford, whose son, the Hon. Archie Casley Hayford, is the Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources in the newly set up semi-dominion government under the leadership of Dr. Nwame Nkrumah.

The West African National Congress contributed much towards the re-awakening of the nationalist spirit during the twenties. Like the Aborigines Society it dispatched several missions to London to demand, among other things, full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, color, and sex; the right of universal suffrage; compulsory free and uniform education; freedom of the press, assembly, and speech; and last but not least the establishment of a university. Today, thirty years after Casley Hayford embarked on his patriotic task, many of the Congress demands are being realized under its successor, the Convention People's Party.

The Congress unfortunately passed away after the death of its founder in 1930. But it bequeathed a rich heritage of struggle and agitation to the younger generation.

After many years of uneventful political agitation sponsored by small groups of middle class politicians, mostly lawyers and other professional men living in the principal coastal towns, there came about a reawakening or a national renascence. This time the leadership soon passed into the hands of men and women from the common people. In the latter part of 1947, a group of middle class politicians, financed by a wealthy African merchant, George Grant, met at the town of Saltpond and formed the United Gold Coast Convention. In the same year, Dr. Nkrumah, who had arrived in London after completing his studies at Lincoln University in America, was invited to return to Africa and assume the secretaryship of the newly organized movement.

ABLE PROPAGANDIST

He was better equipped than the other members of the executive for the task, having made an intensive study of the history of the national liberation movements in India and other Asiatic countries and done practical organization work as one of the joint secretaries of the Fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England, in 1945, under the chairmanship of the foremost Afro-American scholar, Dr. W. E. Burghart DuBois. With such a political background, Dr. Nkrumah soon proved himself an able propagandist and organizer and within a few months formed branches of the U.G.C.C. in many parts of the colony.

As his popularity grew among the common people, especially the youth, the conservative middle class elements in the U.G.C.C. headed by a lawyer-politician, Dr. J. B. Danquah, brother of the British stooge, Nana Sir Ofori Atta, became alarmed. They objected to Nkrumah's efforts to bring the under privileged elements into the forefront of the struggle as they feared the leadership would pass from the hands of the "aristocracy" into that of the plebeian masses whom the professional classes arrogantly describe as "verandah boys"—the unwashed! Dr. Nkrumah refused to play their game of merely using the support of the common people to advance their political and professional careers in the name of nationalism. The inevitable happened when Nkrumah was removed from the secretaryship in the hope of weakening his influence among the masses whom the uppper-class leaders disdained to associate with.

In 1949 Dr. Nkrumah resigned and the United Gold Coast Convention split. The overwhelming majority of the branches composed of young men who had been inspired by Nkrumah's activities broke away from the parent body leaving the rump to the "aristocrats." This marked the first clear division of the nationalist movement on the basis of class alignment. From then on the struggle against Imperialism and Colonialism was to continue with the forces divided into bourgeois and proletarian. The latter elements reorganized themselves into the Convention People's Party which soon swept through the country like a prairie fire leaving in its trail an organization of hundreds of thou-

sands. Today, the Convention People's Party, popularly designated the "C.P.P.," has a registered membership of over 1,000,000 members — the largest nationalist movement which has yet emerged in West Africa.

Viewed against the social background of Gold Coast Society, where a rising bourgeois class is smarting under alien rule on the one hand and the economic monopoly of trade and commerce by the British and Syrian merchants on the other it is not surprising that there has developed a sharp conflict between them and the less privileged section of Africans for the leadership over the masses. It happened in China and is today sharply reflected in the recent split of the Indian National Congress between the capitalists and landlord classes and the workers, peasants, and unemployed youths, who feel that they have been cheated out of their rights since India has become a Dominion republic. History is merely repeating itself in this part of Africa.

COUSSEY CONSTITUTION

With the national front divided the British have been able to take advantage of the situation to foist upon the country a pseudo-democratic constitution described by Dr. Nkrumah as "bogus" and "fradulent!"

To understand how this brilliant stroke of British diplomacy was achieved, it is necessary to review the events leading up to the present constitutional impasse. While the politicians were carrying on their agitation for self-government, a minor Accra chief, Nil Kwabena Bonne, organized a country-wide boycott in order to force the foreign merchants to reduce the exorbitant prices of imported goods. On the same day the boycott was called off, having achieved its purpose, a contingent of ex-service men marched from the centre of Accra to Christiasborg Castle, the suburban home of the governor. As they approached the road leading to the Castle they were stopped by armed native police under European officers. When the men refused to obey the command to turn back, the white officer in charge ordered his men to open fire. Several of the ex-service men were killed.

As soon as the news reached town, thousands of Africans who were out shopping for the first time since the lifting of the boycott started looting the foreign owned stores and beating-up all the European merchants. The rioting went on for days, having spread to other towns, until finally the governor declared a state of emergency and moved troops into Accra. When tranquility was restored, the governer ordered the arrest of six well-known nationalist leaders — Dr. Danquah, William Ofori Atta, the son of the chief, Ako Adjei, Obetsebi Lamptey, Akufo Addo and Dr. Nkrumah—and their deportation to the northern territories of the colony. They were subsequently released and allowed to return to Accra.

A commission was appointed by the Colonial Office in London to investigate the circumstances leading up to the riots and to make rec-

(*Continued on page* 197)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

LEGAL

Irvin Guilty: For a second time Walter Lee Irvin, sole surviving defendant in the notorious Groveland "rape" trial, has been condemned to die by an all-white male jury at Ocala, Florida. The verdict of guilty was returned on February 14 after the jury had been out for an hour and twenty-three minutes.

As the jury announced its verdict in the tense, packed courtroom, Judge T. J. Futch promptly sentenced the 24-year-old veteran to death. Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has announced that a motion for a new trial would be filed.

Irvin, with three other Negro youths, Ernest Thomas, Charles Greenlee and Samuel Shepherd, was accused by a young white, farm housewife of beating her husband and attacking her on the night of July 6, 1949. Ernest Thomas was shot and killed by sheriff's aides. Greenlee was sent to road camp for life, and Irvin and Shepherd were sentenced to death as result of a trial in September, 1949. Shepherd was shot to death and Irvin was seriously wounded by Sheriff Willis McCall on the night of November 6, 1951, while enroute from the state penitentiary at Raiford to Tavares for the retrial ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court.

At the opening of the retrial on February 11, the NAACP filed a motion to introduce as evidence a poll survey showing that Irvin could not get a fair and impartial trial in Marion county because the people had fixed opinions on his guilt, and that 84 percent of the Negroes in the county were afraid something would happen to them if they served on the jury and held out for an acquittal. The motion was denied. The poll was made by experts from the Elmo Roper public opinion firm. It was the first time on record a poll survey was submitted as evidence in a change of venue case.

The testimony of the blonde farm girl was almost an exact repetition of her testimony in the first trial, when she said she was raped by the four boys.

Herman D. Bennett, a criminology expert and former FBI agent who now heads the Pan American Secret Service in Miami, testified for the defense that the cast of Irvin's footprints the state introduced as evidence were falsely taken. There were no feet in the shoes when the casts were taken, Mr. Bennett asserted.

A second defense witness was Lawrence Burtoft, who brought the girl

into town on the night of the alleged rape. He stated that the girl told him that she had been kidnapped and was in the woods all night, but said absolutely nothing about being raped. When the State's Attorney, Jess Hunter, asked if there was anything unusual about a white girl being in the woods all night with four "niggers," Burtoft said, "When I first saw the girl she was not excited and the only injury she had was a scar on her knee which she got from a barbed wire fence." Burtoft also said she told him she could not identify any of the men who kidnapped her.

Irvin took the stand in his own defense and reaffirmed his innocence. He stated he did not see the girl or her husband the night of the alleged crime. He and Samuel Shepherd had gone to a night club in Orlando, he asserted.

The testimony of Negro witnesses on the "good race relations" prevailing in Ocala, Florida, and their assertion that Irvin could get a fair and impartial trial was an important factor in the court's refusal to grant a change of venue, Ocala Negroes believe. Local residents claim that this testimony was the most damaging.

SEGREGATION

Theatre Jim-Crow Ends: The six-year fight of the Baltimore NAACP branch to end discrimination at Ford's Theater, the only place in the city where legitimate theatrical presentations are offered, ended in smashing victory on February 1 as the theatre management announced that it has dropped its segregation policy.

The announcement came on recommendation from the Maryland State Commission on Interracial Problems, after Governor Theodore McKeldin on January 3 wrote the Commission that the Negro citizens of Baltimore had been "needlessly affronted" by Ford's policy. "The resultant humiliation has brought a picket line to the doors of the theater," the governor said. "Many white people have been reluctant to cross the picket line, and so, in addition to the injustice involved, there have been inconveniences to many persons and economic loss. It may be that this is a contributing cause to the scantiness of the theatrical program now offered in Baltimore."

The picket line against the theater's discriminatory policies had been maintained by the NAACP, which has not missed a single performance in six years.

Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore, Md., branch, and a member of the Association's national board of directors, publicly expressed her appreciation to the white citizens of Baltimore "who respected the rights of colored citizens enough to stay away from the theater the past six years." Mrs. Jackson said the victory proves "that democarcy can work and that the people in general believe in democracy."

What the Branches Are Doing

Alabama: The Alabama state conference of NAACP branches invited the heads of a number of state organizations to a meeting at the 18th Street branch YMCA on February 2 to consider techniques for increasing the number of qualified voters in the state.

It was voted that a state coordinating committee be set up and that efforts be continued to get all organizations possible to cooperate in this effort.

Similar coordinating committees are to be set up on the county level and the work to be directed by a person in the field for a period of at least six months.

Officers elected for the state committee are W. C. Patton, Birmingham, chairman; W. P. Mitchell, Tuskegee Institute, vice-chairman; Mrs. B. M. Montgomery, Birmingham, secretary; Mrs. Mabel Neely, Birmingham, assistant secretary; and C. W. Lee, Montgomery, treasurer.

Among the organizations represented were the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, the I.B.P.O.E. of W., Progressive Democratic Voters League; State Baptist Convention, Tuskegee Civic Association, the Church of God, NAACP, Omega Psi Phi, Funeral Directors Association and CIO-PAC, Voters Commission of Alabama State Teachers Association.

Communities represented were Anniston, Jasper, Tuscaloosa, and Bessemer in addition to Birmingham, Montgomery and Tuskegee.

Colorado: The DENVER branch held a public meeting on January 13 at The New Hope Baptist church to raise funds for the Florida defense fund in the Harry T. Moore case.

The branch also mailed a letter of protest to president Truman. The letter follows:

"Dear Mr. President: Mr Vogler and the four American flyers have been released from the Hungarian prison. Mr. Vogler is now with his family and and the four American flyers will some day return to their families where they will be happily united again. All Americans were deeply grieved and very much upset by the incidents that led to the imprisonment of these five men and our government did what it could for their release. However, I am now thinking and am very much disturbed about some other things that have happened here in our own country, in the state of Florida.

"When I read in the daily press of the killing of Samuel Shepherd, the wounding of Walter Irwin by an officer of the law, when they were handcuffed together, the bombing of Negro housing, Jewish Synagogues, and Catholic Churches, and last but no means the least, the murder of Harry T. Moore, a respectable citizen, and the wounding of his wife, Mrs. Harriet Moore, by dynamiting their homes in the state of Florida, I wonder just why all of these crimes in the state of Florida could happen and the criminal cannot be apprehended. We have law enforcement agencies, both state and federal.

Why can't the FBI and other law enforcement agencies find the criminals—are these agencies lying down on their jobs?

"Mr. Vogler has returned to his family and the four American flyers will some day return to their families, but Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Moore will not be able to return to their families because they are dead, killed by the hands of murderers. What will our government do about these murderers and what will the Russian Press say about it? What will our boys who are fighting and dying in Korea think of the tragedy?

"The Denver branch NAACP along with our national office and other branches of our organization demand that decided action be taken to bring these culprits to justice and we are depending upon you, Mr. President, to see that it is done." This letter was signed by W. F. Turner, president of the Denver branch.

Delaware: The newly elected officers of the NEWARK branch were installed by John W. Flamer, of the Philadelphia NAACP regional office, on January 15 at the Cleveland Avenue Community Center. The new officers are as follows: president, Julius Ryland; vice-president, Mrs. Earl Saunders; recording secretary, Mrs. Arthur Johnson; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Martin Hirshfeld; and treasurer, Mrs. Alex Coates.

Committee chairmen are as follows: membership, Mrs. George Wilson; publicity, Colbert Wood; legal redress, Earl Saunders; legislative, George Wilson; labor, Arthur Johnson; housing, Mrs. Francis Owens; entertainment, Mrs. Julius Ryland; church, Mrs. Lloyd Badson; veterans, Porter Quarles; youth, Cornelious Morgan; and chaplain, Rev. Edward McNair.

The Newark branch, as part of its branch activities, has been urging the local city council for the past two years to appoint a Negro policeman.

Michigan: A new departure in race relations was made when executives of the Grand Rapids Motor Coach Company announced to representatives of the GRAND RAPIDS branch that the company will insist on an anti-discrimination clause in their new lease with the Ramona Gardens Skating Rink. The lease is due to be renewed in April. Though Ramona park is owned and operated by a department of the Motor Coach Company, the skating rink at the park is leased to Henry Nieboer.

Representatives of the branch legal redress committee in conference with company officials discussed the case which the branch had filed against the skating rink. Louis DeLamarter, Jr., executive vice-president of the bus company, stated he was unaware of the branch's charges of segregation at the rink and that Negroes were being excluded except on Monday nights, when the rink was closed to the general public.

Howard Engel, manager of the rink, was released on $100 bond after pleading not guilty before municipal judge Willard McIntyre to a charge of violating the Michigan civil rights law. The trial is pending.

DeLamarter stated: "It has always been the policy of the management of the Grand Rapids Motor Coach Company, as well as the Yellow Cab Company, to avoid any form of racial discrimination. Not only are there Negroes in our employ but no discriminatory limit is placed on their progress or the type of jobs which their experience and ability allow them to hold."

The Grand Rapids Motor Coach Company holds the franchise with the City of Grand Rapids for bus operation and also owns the local Yellow Cab Company.

Floyd H. Skinner, president of the

local branch, commenting on De Lamarter's action stated: "This is a splendid example of agressive action for fair play. We know of no other similar action in the history of this community and we feel it may be precedent setting not only in Grand Rapids, but for the country as a whole. Although anti-discrimination clauses have been written into labor-management contracts, we feel it is most unusual and certainly highly commendable that representatives of business should initiate a demand for the inclusion of such a provision in a lease. I feel that Grand Rapids is most fortunate indeed in having such a forward-looking young business leader to set an example for the other business executives of the community."

John W. Roxborough II, chairman of the legal redress committee of the DETROIT branch, reports the following branch activities:

The case of *Phillips v. Naff et ux* (and wife) where a white property owner in a restrictive covenant area is suing another white for breach of the covenant by selling to a Negro. The case of *Westerman et al v. Dixon et ux* where a white property owner in a restrictive covenant area went to Lenawee county and obtained an ex parte (in the interest of one side only) injunction restraining another white from selling his property to a Negro.

Police brutality cases include the following: the beating of Milton Jones, without provocation, by two officers of the Detroit police department. The officers were off duty and drunk. They were found guilty by the police trial board and sentenced to six days suspension and thirty leave days.

The beating and arrest, by six policemen of Detroit, of Roscoe Wade. The police claimed that Wade was drunk and uncooperative. A civil suit for assault and battery and false imprisonment has been filed against the officers for $5,000 in damages.

In the case of Herman Stallings and Franklin Brown, the prosecuting attorney for Wayne county has refused to issue a warrant for assault and battery. The attorney general of the State of Michigan has been petitioned to investigate the action of the prosecutor involved and has acknowledged the petition and the investigation is now in progress. A civils suit for assault and battery and/or false imprisonment will be filed immediately upon the completion of the criminal action.

Attorney Roxborough has also worked with attorneys from other agencies on the draft proposal of an FEPC act for the State of Michigan. The act has been introduced by Representative Cramton in the January 1952 session of the Michigan legislature.

Minnesota: Carl Rowan of the *Minneapolis Tribune* was a guest speaker at the January meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch. Branch officers were also installed at this meeting.

New England: The third quarterly meeting of the New England regional conference of branches was held in Waterbury, Connecticut, on December 9, 1951. Highlights of the meeting were reports on various New England branch achievements. Ansonia reports that the local "Y" has opened its doors to Negro membership and that the local A&P store has hired a colored girl cashier. The Hartford branch is working to remove stereotyped literature from the schools. New Britain has positions open for Negroes on the state police force. New Canaan has a Negro treasurer of its PTA and several Negro clerks in its stores. Norwalk has increased its NAACP membership to 400. Meriden has an integrated housing unit. Ridgefield has 110 NAACP members. Springfield has seven colored policemen, two bus drivers, two Negro members of the

city council, and a Negro woman member of the school committee.

New Jersey: The NEWARK branch reports a maximum of 425 senior members for 1951. The youth council had almost 100 members. The branch is at present actively engaged in raising funds for the Groveland defense and to co-sponsor a local civil liberties conference.

New York: Leeland Jones, Jr., of BUFFALO, Ellicott district councilman and a prominent member of the local NAACP branch, was presented the 1951 Gold Key Award of the Junior Chamber of Commerce in January as the city's outstanding man.

Mr. Jones, first Negro to hold a councilmanic post, was cited for "outstanding service to and in the community, personal character and ability."

LEGAL REDRESS COMMITTEE *of the Detroit, Michigan, branch discusses successful NAACP legal fights. Seated (L to R): Attorneys Willis M. Graves, John W. Roxborough II (chairman), and William A. Bell II. Standing: Attorneys Willis Ward, Herman Stallings, and H. Franklin Brown.*

Mr. Jones led the drive against narcotics, organizing the Citizens Committee to Combat Drug Addiction. He cooperated with the local Urban League in the Ellicott district clean-up campaign, and led in the drive for public housing and slum clearance.

Councilman Jones, who lives at 64 Willert Park Courts, was born in Buffalo, June 15, 1921, and educated at School 32, the Technical high school, and the University of Buffalo. In 1949, he was elected Fifth Ward supervisor, the youngest member ever elected to that office . . . He is assistant director of the Consolidated Erie County Office of Civil Defense, a specialist for the Bureau of Adult Education in the New York State Department of Education, an executive member of the Buffalo Housing Committee, and a director of the Buffalo branch NAACP.

Ohio: The COLUMBUS branch has launched a campaign to raise funds for the Groveland, Florida, case and other legal battles in which the national organization is involved. The branch has received a lot of favorable publicity in the local press, including *The Ohio State News*, *The Ohio Sentinel*, and *Columbus Dispatch*.

Tennessee: Rev. Percy Williams, pastor of the First Baptist church, one of the oldest churches in the state, is new president of the CHATTANOOGA branch, succeeding Dr. P. A. Stevens. Other branch officers W. O. Bryson, vice-president; A. F. Dixon, secretary; Mrs. Carrie Chapman, assistant secretary; A. N. Fears, treasurer; Mrs. Carrie Chapman, assistant treasurer; and Rev. W. T. Bryd, chaplain.

Committee chairman are as follows: Dr. P. A. Stephens, executive; L. D. Collins, membership; J. H. Traylor, legal redress; Rev. Leo Cole, education; Earl Brown, press and publicity; Mrs. J. B. Goodwin, entertainment; Jerome Higgins, labor and industry; Mrs. Bertha Singleton, program; Rev. W. A. Dennis, youth council; C. B. Robinson, housing; and Attorney R. H. Craig, legislation.

DECLARATION AT JACKSONVILLE

(*Adopted unanimously by acclamation*)

MEETING here in Jacksonville, Florida, on the 19th and 20th of January, 1952, we, the accredited representatives of 100,000 members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 15 southern states, reaffirm our unwavering loyalty to the deathless principles of democracy for which Harry T. Moore and his wife gave their lives.

As American citizens and as believers in the essential humanity of all mankind, we here today solemnly pledge our total resources to the struggle to establish throughout our native southland freedom, justice, equality and security for every citizen.

In the presence of Almighty God, whose aid and guidance we beseech, we take a sacred vow to pursue this goal to the end that no man, woman or child in our land suffer insult, humiliation, discrimination or violence solely because of his race, color, religion or national origin. And we particularly condemn the new technique of lynching as exemplified in the killing of Samuel Shepherd and the wounding of Walter Irvin in Groveland, Florida.

We will continue the fight for (1) The right to security of person

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College and School News

Second annual SHAW UNIVERSITY day was observed January 13 under the co-sponsorship of The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Raleigh and the university. Principal address was made by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard university. Other speakers included John Larkins, consultant to the North Carolina welfare department; Rev. Paul Johnson, pastor of the Martin Street Baptist church, Raleigh; and Mrs. Ellen Alston, executive secretary of the Woman's Baptist Missionary and Educational Convention of North Carolina. Music for the occasion was furnished by the Washington high school choral society under the direction of Mrs. Emily Kelly.

■

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE reports 48 students on its honor roll for the fall quarter, twenty-two seniors, six juniors, ten sophomores, nine freshmen, and one special. Mabel R. Beard, a senior from Knoxville, heads the list with 3.0.

■

Rev. Charles L. Tarter, pastor of the St. Augustine Presbyterian church, Paterson, N. J., was awarded the Ed. D. degree by TEACHERS COLLEGE, Columbia university on January 16. Rev. Tarter holds an A. B. from Morgan and an M. A. from Columbia university. He is a graduate, with B. D., from the Oberlin graduate school of theology, Oberlin, Ohio. Rev. Tarter is also vice-president of the Paterson branch of the NAACP, of which he was president for two years.

■

The BELOIT COLLEGE *Poetry Journal* has just published its Chapbook No. 1 containing the first complete translation into English of Federico Garcia Lorca's "Gypsy Ballads," done by Langston Hughes.

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■

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY'S *The News Letter* reports that students of high schools throughout the country, in which courses on radio-television discrimination are taught are invited to participate in opinion polls conducted by the Wisconsin Association for Better Radio and Television. Teachers wishing further information about the project may write to Mrs. C. E. Curran, 402 Grand Ave., Madison, Wisconsin.

■

The Department of Christian Education of the SUNDAY SCHOOL PUBLISHING BOARD, Nashville, Tennessee, reports an increasing interest in its Bible study program in homes, churches, and public places.

■

Thurgood Marshall, special counsel NAACP, and Willard Townsend, president United Transport Service Employees (CIO), were awarded the Citizen of the Year Plaque by the 38th grand conclave of the OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, meeting in Miami, Florida. The OPP also went on record as condemning the recent murder of Harry T. Moore of Mims, Florida.

■

The January issue of THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT reports that four local

chapters of Sigma Chi, Sigma Nu, Kappa Sigma and Lambda Chi Alpha at the University of Connecticut have servered affiliations with their national bodies because of discriminatory policies.

At Syracuse university an anti-bias bill was passed by the student government group and approved by the Interfraternity council.

Cornell university's Interfraternity council adopted a resolution calling upon the National Interfraternity Council to adopt a policy that would require member fraternities to "remove constitutional clauses restricting membership for racial or religious reasons."

■

The MARYLAND STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, at its annual meeting in December, voted 199 to 41 to admit Negro teachers to membership.

■

Mrs. Mary MacLeod Bethune, president emerita of BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE, is the subject of an article by Dorothy Walworth in the February issue of *The Reader's Digest*.

■

SAVANNAH STATE COLLEGE reports thirty-five students on the dean's list for the winter quarter, 1952. All students listed made an average of 2.50 or higher during the fall quarter.

■

Two concerts of Negro musical compositions featured the celebration of Negro history week at the METROPOLITAN MUSIC SCHOOL of

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New York City as part of a cultural program arranged by the Citizens' Committee of the School.

■

Over 1700 farmers, farm wives, and professional agricultural workers gathered at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE on January 16 for the sixty-first annual Farmers Conference. Dr. Arthur Raper, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and Paul Maris, farm-ownership expert, were the featured speakers. The annual farmers' conference was started by Booker T. Washington in an effect to raise the standards of farming and the level of living of farm families.

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■

Twelve ranking students at FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE are listed in the 1951-52 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities.* These students, eight seniors and four juniors, are as follows: George Fitzpatrick, Emm MacKinnon, James Faison, Theophilus Parker, Hattie Hicks, Biddie Davis, Lois Crews, Alice Boone, Thelma Robinson, Cora Baton, Bessie Johnson, and Ella Rhem.

■

Ninety-eighth founder's day was observed by ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE in February, with special assemblies and programs.

■

TALLADEGA COLLEGE welcomed Carol Brice with overwhelming enthusiasm when she returned to her alma mater for a recital on January 11.

■

Samuel L. Hilliard an alumnus ('46) of TENNESSEE A. AND I. STATE UNIVERSITY, is an instructor in agriculture at the Jicarilla Boarding and Day School, Dulce, New Mexico, where he teaches Apache Indians.

■

Racial integration in educational institutions is not only practicable

but also desirable, asserted Monsig. Edward Waterson, S. T. D., principal of the CARDINAL HAYES HIGH SCHOOL in New York, in addressing a recent forum of the Catholic Interracial Council, New York City.

During the ten-year history of the New York Archdiocean, he said, high school students have been accepted solely on the basis of a competitive entrance examination without regard to racial or financial status.

Opportunity to participate in its eleventh annual exhibition of Paintings, sculptures and prints by Negro artists has been announced by ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. The exhibition is open to anyone with artistic ability, and formal training in the field is not prerequisite.

The University Players, under the direction of Baldwin Burroughs, presented matinee and evening performances of "Romeo and Juliet" in Howe memorial hall, Spelman campus, on February 21 and 22. Bernard Peterson of Richmond, Va., and Wylma White of Beaumont, Texas, played the title roles.

Tenth annual University Center Convocation at Atlanta was addressed by James P. Brawley, president of Clark college. Theme of Mr. Brawley's address was the fundamental necessity for better world-wide human relations. Students and faculty from six colleges participated in the convocation.

■

LANE COLLEGE observed its annual religious emphasis week during the month of January, with daily lectures by Dr. Rossie Hollis, president of the connectional council of the Woman's Missionary Society of the CME church; and Rev. J. L. Tolbert, general secretary of the department of evangelism of the CME church.

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Further hall, men's dormitory, at CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE was completely destroyed by fire on January 16. The loss amounted to more than $100,000.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY will award twenty-five scholarships, ranging in value from $325 to $800, in its Basic College for 1952-53 to outstanding students who are now completing their second or third year in an accredited high school. The scholarship awards, covering tuition or all expenses in the Fisk experimental program, have been made available through the Ford Foundation for the Advancement of Education.

The scholarship awards will be based on school records and character recommendations, and on competitive examinations.

The Fisk alumni have nominated two candidates—Mrs. Sadie Daniel St. Clair, '14, of Washington, D.C., and William Zigler, '21, of Chicago, Ill.,—for vacancies on the university board of trustees, which at present has five alumni as members.

Among other campus events have been the following: the one-man show of James D. Parks, head of the art department at Lincoln university, Jefferson City, Mo., in the Carl Van Vechten Gallery of Fine Arts; selection of the university art gallery by the American Academy of Arts and Letters to receive the work of an American artist under the terms

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of the famous Hassam Fund; and the gift of the George W. Ellis African exhibit, formerly in the Smithsonian Institute, to the university by Irene McCoy Gaines, a niece of Mr. Ellis.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk president, has been named by President Truman to the President's Commission on Health Needs of the Nation.

■

According to Thomas Parkinson, campaign chairman of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, a total of $1,304,700 was raised in the 1951 campaign of the UNCF. This sum is an increase of $95,000 over that raised in 1950, and the largest amount given to the fund since its establishment in 1944. The money will be distributed among thirty-two private, accredited colleges and universities.

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■

Annual mid-year convocation of WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was held January 27, with state superintendent of public schools, Dr. W. W. Trent, delivering the convocation address. Twenty-four degrees were conferred by President John E. Davis. Honors went to Rosa Pickel, who won a magna cum laude with an average of 3.676; and Eugene Hicks, with a cum laude average of 3.337. Both are graduates of the Garnet high school of Charleston, W. Va.

First annual leadership conference of WVSC, sponsored by the women's and men's senate, was held on January 11. Faculty advisors were Dean James Kelly, Jr., and Dean Willie Russell.

The first two $500 scholarships to be awarded by the newly-founded Education Foundation of West Virginia have gone to Mrs. Mary Harris, of Minton, and Reuben Sheeler,

of Institute. The foundation was created in 1951 by a Charleston group for the purpose of providing financial aid to graduate students of West Virginia.

■

Dr. Edward Gerald, professor in the school of journalism at the University of Minnesota, was National Negro Newspaper Week speaker at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) on March 13. He discussed present-day threats to the freedom of the press.

Recognition of the mounting volume of material in general publications contributing to better racial relations in this country will be made annually by the Lincoln university school of journalism in the form of citation awards, according to Armistead S. Pride, dean of the school.

The award, the first of which is to be made during Headliner Week in April at the university, will go each year to a few of the newspapers and magazines that publish articles, stories, editorials, or features that in the opinion of the faculty of the journalism unit contributes toward the eradication of injustices toward minority groups, Negro and otherwise.

Sixteenth annual conference and play festival of the National Association of Dramatic and Speech Arts will be held at Lincoln April 3-4, with Dr. Barnard Hewitt, professor of speech at the University of Illinois, as speaker at the public meeting of the conference.

■

The KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE dramatic club presented the three-act play *Murder Has Been Arranged*, by Emlyn Williams, in January. The Delta Sigma Theta sorority celebrated its annual founder's day with a dramatic recital, followed by a reception in McCullin hall.

ROBERT SHOECRAFT, *Central State graduate, who received his LL.B. from Ohio State at end of second quarter,* 1952.

Among the many interesting high schools papers is *The Langstonian*, published every six weeks during the school year by the students of the JOHN M. LANGSTON HIGH SCHOOL, Danville, Virginia. Editor-in-chief is Cecil Crumps. The paper is readable and well edited.

■

Book Reviews

MARXIST HISTORY

***A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States.* Edited by Herbert Aptheker. Preface by W. E. B. Du Bois. New York: The Citadel Press, 1951. XVI+942 pp. $7.50.**

In spite of the Communist bias of its author, Herbert Aptheker's *Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* is an important work. For one thing, the documents speak for themselves, selection and interpretation notwithstanding. And for another, so neglected has been the history of the American Negro, that this pioneer work, which for the first time presents a large sampling of documents on Negro history (exclusive of slavery and the slave-trade) — documents which are not generally available — is of necessity a significant reference tool.

Mr. Aptheker has undoubtedly done a prodigious amount of work in gathering, and then selecting and editing, the documents included in this book, which covers the period from colonial times to 1910. (A subsequent volume will cover the more recent years). Here are selections illustrating many phases of Negro life, ranging chronologically from early Negro petitions for freedom to the formation of the NAACP. Included are documents dealing with Negro slave revolts, the formation of Negro educational and religious organizations, abolitionist efforts, migration movements, eye-witness accounts of race riots and other violence, Negroes during the Reconstruction period, and Negro participation in America's wars.

To this reviewer the real heart of the book is the almost four hundred pages devoted to the abolitionist era from the late 1820's to the Civil War. Here, as throughout the book, Aptheker effectively presents the Negro protest in the words of the Negroes themselves. Especially significant are the lengthy quotations from the proceedings of the annual Negro Conventions of the ante-bellum period, which clearly reflected Negro opinion and were instrumental in uniting Free Negroes in their fight against slavery and caste. Of equal interest are the selections from Walker's *Appeal*, urging the slaves to revolt, and from Nat Turner's own account of the revolt he led in 1831 — the most important of the slave revolts. Aptheker treats of efforts to gain integration and equal rights in public schools, traveling accommodations, and other facilities; of activities in the Underground Railroad, of early Negro newspapers, and of Negro abolitionists.

Yet one cannot say that Aptheker covers all phases of Negro life during the ante-bellum period. There are no documents illustrative of slavery and the slave trade, or of conditions under which the slaves lived. There is nothing concerning the life of free Negroes in ante-bellum Charleston or New Or-

leans — though there is a good deal about the efforts and organizations of free Negroes in the North. At the very least Aptheker should have delimited his subject more precisely.

Bias in selection and interpretation is particularly apparent in the latter part of the book dealing with the post-Reconstruction years. For example, in his explanatory notes, Aptheker adopts the well-known Communist interpretation causally relating the developing American imperialism of the late nineteenth century to the marked oppression of Negroes in this period, when they were living under the worst conditions they have faced since the Civil War.

For instance, he writes on page 827: "Though monopoly capitalism emerges in 1900 as dominant in American life and transforms the United States into an imperialist nation, its position was challenged constantly. Among no section of the population was this more true than the Negro people, chief sufferers as they were from the enveloping imperialism." It seems to this reviewer that these statements are of doubtful validity. Even ignoring the fact that it is impossible to give as definite a date as 1900 for the emergence of a social institution like monopoly capitalism, one might point out that a causal relationship between American imperialism and the wave of lynchings, race riots and jim crow laws from about 1890 on has not been proven. Further, one receives the impression from such statements, and from the documents printed, that the dominant ideologies among Negroes of this period were more of protest rather than accommodation. That they attacked capitalism rather than supported it. Actually the contrary was true of the period under consideration, when the characteristic ideologies were best typified by more of Booker T. Washington who preached accommodation and the middle-class, laissey-faire philosophy which was dominant in the United States at the time.

Among other things, Aptheker places overemphasis upon materials dealing with Negro participation in the labor movement and upon those showing the influence of Marxist thinking on Negro social philosophy. Again Aptheker does include around half a dozen documents from the pen of Washington, but appears to have utilized extensively the library and manuscripts of Dr. Du Bois, while almost ignoring the Booker T. Washington Collection in the Library of Congress. For another example, in a section entitled "Booker T. Washington: Pro and Con" (pages 876-886), Aptheker prints one document (about two pages) defending Washington, and five documents (about eight pages) attacking him. This is not surprising in view of Aptheker's performance in the magazine *Science and Society* in the fall of 1949 (XIII, 4, pp. 344-351), in which his article on "The Washington-DuBois Conference of 1904" is based exclusively on the DuBois papers. This is hardly an example of historical objectivity.

And yet, in some ways, this weakness results in what is perhaps the most significant service Aptheker performs in this book — that of presenting to the public generally unknown materials on the Negro protest and on Negro participation in the labor and radical agrarian movements in the latter nineteenth century. While not dominant tendencies in the period, they have been wrongly, almost entirely ignored, by most historians. The quarrel of this reviewer is not with the documents *per se*, but with matters of proportion and emphasis in the editing of the book.

All in all, the *Documentary History* is an important reference book, just because it is the only such work in the field. Most of the selections are not readily available to the general public, many are hard to obtain, and some are

very rare. Because of this the book will prove valuable to students of Negro history, though it must be used with care. The documents also make fascinating, often exciting reading. The biases of the author do not diminish the importance of the Negro protest movement which he has ably presented. It is simply to be hoped that other historians will soon make a more comprehensive and balanced selection.

AUGUST MEIER

AUGUST MEIER, *formerly secretary of the Newark, N. J., NAACP branch and a teacher of history at Tougaloo college, is now studying for his doctorate in history at Columbia University on a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies.*

NEGRONESS

***On Being Negro in America.* By J. Saunders Redding. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1951. 156pp. $3.00.**

Color and race prejudice loom large in the life of every American Negro. However, what it does to a particular individual depends upon the many complex factors of region, education, economic status, class status, complexion, etc. But it leaves soul scars on all. In this book one of America's brilliant young writers tells what it means to him to be a Negro in the United States. He says he speaks for himself and no one else, yet most sensitively intelligent Negroes will find many of their own reactions and thoughts mirrored in this moving book.

"This is personal. I would call it a 'document' except that the word has overtones of something official, vested and final. But I have been clothed with no authority to speak for others, and what I have to say can be final only for myself."

Then Mr. Redding goes on to tell about his second ego:

"From adolescence to death there is something very personal about being a Negro in America. It is like having a second ego which is as much the conscious subject of all experience as the natural self. It is not what the psychologists call dual personality. It is more complex and, I think, more morbid than that. In the state of which I speak, one receives two distinct impacts from certain experiences and one undergoes two distinct reactions—the one normal and intrinsic to the natural self; the other, entirely different but of equal force, a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness of Negroness."

What the author says is true. For the sneers which a race-hating America heaps upon a man creates ambivalence; that is, the existence of opposite and conflicting feelings about the same thing. We notice it in the Negro leader who opposes segregation, while he supplicates the state for graduate courses to add to his substandard curriculum. We notice it in the Negro leader who teeters between racial chauvinism and integration. In the editor who headlines an interracial marriage on the front page, while condemning such marriages on his editoral page. Enough examples could be given to fill a book.

"Many Negroes," the author confesses, "will deny that the force I have described as daemonic has operated in their lives. If asked about it, they will take quick offense, as if it were of the same stripe as an unnatural sex drive which, of course, is wisely kept secret by those who possess it. They will aver that they live *normal, natural, wholesome* lives, even in the South. . . . I have no quarrel with them (nor with any others); it is simply that I do not believe them. Having to avoid prejudice and segregation is itself unwholesome, and the constant doing of it is skating very close to a psychopathic edge. My experience has been that no two or three Negroes ever

(*Continued on page* 201)

BRANCH NEWS

(*Continued from page* 184)

against the organized violence of lawless mobsters, or of irresponsible law enforcement officers; (2) The right to vote as free men in a free land; (3) The right to employ opportunities in accordance with our individual merits; (4) The right of our children to attend any educational institutions supported by public funds; (5) The right to serve unsegregated in the armed services of our country; (6) The right to travel unrestricted by jim-crow regulations; and (7) The right to go unmolested among our fellow Americans as free men in a free society.

These are the goals for which Harry T. Moore worked and fought and finally made the supreme sacrifice. In dedication to these goals, we accept our rendezvous with destiny. We shall not fail you, Harry Moore! We shall keep the faith.

NEW MEXICO

(*Continued from page* 150)

in any hotel or tourist court, but the city's leading hotel provides them with a service of sorts: Negro hotel workers are available to find accomodations for the employes.

The new oil boom in northwestern New Mexico has brought a number of new families into the area—Negro and white. And just as the eastern New Mexico oil country saw discrimination blossom forth with the new type of New Mexicans, so too has a new part of the state seen this social paralysis. It has reached a point where a group of Negroes appeared before the San Juan county grand jury to ask for equal protection under the law. This delegation explained that there are about fifteen families in the area and that shortly after their arrival there had been cases of discrimination. The group, which spoke to the jury in mid-December, said the trouble began in November when several white families withdrew their children from school upon learning that several Negro children had enrolled.

The group also said there has been discrimination in employment, several Negroes having been offered jobs paying less for the same work when performed by white workers. The public's attitude, the delegation declared, is such that they fear they will not be given equal protection by law officers in the area.

STUDY ACT

The grand jury advised peace officers to study the FEPC act and to enforce any violations of it. Newspapers were also asked to publicize the contents of the act.

While the picture is certainly far worse than the state's officials and its boosters admit, there are some bright spots. One of the brightest occurred in a least expected place. Just before the start of the 1951 school year, Carlsbad city education authorities were told that the school for Negro students was not accredited. It was not on a par with the facilities offered white students

in the large high school. The alternatives were clear: The school could continue to operate; it could be brought up to the white school at a cost of $100,000; or integration could take place.

Several of the municipal board of education members held out for retention of segregation. But the city treasury would not stand the expenditure of such a vast sum as $100,000, and the board felt extremely reluctant to be responsible for the management of an unaccredited school. The only remaining possibility was integration. But this did not agree with what some board members considered the place of the Negro in society. At this point, the municipal school superintendent stepped in and announced that he had conducted a poll of students the previous year on the matter of integration. He had found no objection whatsoever from the students to admitting Negro high school students to the white school. If the students want the Negroes in school, why should we oppose? This question was unanswerable, and the board approved integration.

The day before the school term began, ministers commented from the pulpit about the change, Civic organizations spread the word. The parents of the students were prepared for the move. This had to be done since, as one board member explained, "We are in a southern town with people who are from the South." It didn't take any explaining to the students, but the oldsters had to be handled carefully.

"There was no big fuss about the transformation, and I think that was one of the reasons for its success," the high school principal, W. A. Foster, said.

How has it worked now that the school term is well under way? "Non-segregation has worked exceptionally well in Carlsbad's high school. There has not been one incident one way or the other," Foster said. Much remains to be done. It would have been a far more significant action had the Carlsbad school board taken this action on moral grounds rather than because of financial circumstances. But something positive has been accomplished, and the other cities with segregated schools have seen racial barriers tossed aside.

The next step calls for a realization on the part of all New Mexicans that there is a problem and that only forthright and intelligent steps can keep it from getting out of hand. Unless there is this realization, New Mexico will find itself south of the Mason-Dixon line at a point from which there is little chance of return.

BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

(*Continued from page* 177)

ommendations for better administration. The Commission was under the chairmanship of a British barrister, Atkin Watson, K.C. It recommended among other things the reform of the existing Burns Constitution granted to the colony two years before.

The governor, acting on the suggestions of the Watson Commission,

appointed a hand-picked all-African committee, composed of chiefs and other reactionary elements, to draft a new constitution under the chairmanship of an African Judge, Sir Henley Coussey. The conservative leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention were heavily represented by lawyer Dr. Danquah, his nephew, Chief Ofori Atta II, lawyer Obeetsebi Lamptey and other executive members. Dr. Nkrumah and other radicals were excluded from the Coussey Committee.

POSITIVE ACTION

The committee made its report in 1949, after it was unanimously endorsed by all the members with a few minor reservations by Dr. Danquah and other U.G.C.C. representatives. Free of responsibility for the constitution, Dr. Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party strongly criticized its recommendations as falling short of the country's demand for immediate self-government. Backed by his party, Dr. Nkrumah appealed to the governor to convene a Constituent Assembly in order to give the common people the right to propose amendments to the draft constitution. This request was strongly opposed by the chiefs and reactionary politicians, especially Dr. Danquah and his colleagues of the United Gold Coast Convention. Assured of their support, the governor rejected Dr. Nkrumah's suggestion as Dr. Danquah had endorsed the constitution and recommended that it be given a trial.

Faced with this *fait accompli*, Dr. Nkrumah and his supporters decided to go into opposition. The Convention People's Party convened a nation-wide conference in Accra on November 20, 1949, at which the delegates drew up a number of reforms to the constitution. These were presented to the government, which rejected them. A few months later, with the country firmly behind him, Dr. Nkrumah launched a campaign of "Positive Action" in the hope of forcing the British government to comply with the demands of the people for "Self-Government Now." Within a few days after the "Positive Action" campaign started, the Governor declared a state of emergency and struck at the radical leaders. Several members of the executive committee of the Convention People's Party including Dr. Nkrumah were arrested and sent to prison for terms varying from six months to two and a half years.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CONSTITUTION

With the "extremists" behind prison bars, the governor set about holding the first general election. The conservative leaders of the U.G.C.C. were jubilant that their political opponents were out of the way and the road open for them to sweep into office as ministers in the Executive Council or "Cabinet." But they counted their chickens before they were hatched. From prison Dr. Nkrumah called upon his supporters to continue to fight "self-government" and to contest the elections. And a few days before the registration of candidates closed, Dr. Nkrumah and his prison colleagues were nominated as candidates. In order to discredit them and scare away the people from supporting the

C.P.P., Dr. Nkrumah was denounced as a "Communist." This move fitted in with the international "Cold War;" for if this Joseph Goebbelsian lie was believed, the government would be able to justify its repressive measures against the C.P.P. leaders on the grounds of "Defending Democracy against Communism." But the people repudiated the lying propaganda of the British and their native stooges and went to the polls on February 2, 1951, and voted Dr. Nkrumah and his party into power.

OPPOSITION DISINTEGRATING

With an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Assembly, the governor was forced to release Dr. Nkrumah and his colleagues in order to avoid a serious constitutional crisis and the breakdown of government.

Completely routed and demoralized by the superior organizational and tactical abilities of Dr. Nkrumah, the opposition is fast disintegrating into a bunch of squabbling generals without an army with which to fight a comeback. Embittered by their loss of the "big plums" in the form of large salaries which they had provided for the ministerial posts, Dr. Danquah and his one-man opposition in the Assembly is resorting to the most unprincipled tactics to try to discredit Dr. Nkrumah and his cabinet colleagues. Completely isolated from the common people whom they despise, the country is faced with virtually a "One Party" system of government until such time as a new opposition party arises.

Under the slogan: "the struggle goes on" until complete self-government or Dominion status is attained, Dr. Nkrumah, forced into the position of having to assume office, points out to his critics that it was they who advised him to try the constitution at a time when he called the country to "Positive Action" to compel the British to hand over complete power to "the chiefs and people," who are invariably linked together in nationalist agitation in this country.

Now that circumstances have forced the Convention People's Party to operate a constitution framed by Dr. Danquah and his friends, the country is awaiting the outcome of the general elections for local Government Councils, which are an integral part of the new administrative machinery, before striking the next and final blow for complete independence as a Dominion within the British Commonwealth.

There is no doubt among political observers here that Dr. Nkrumah's supporters will again sweep the polls. On the outcome of this hangs the future of the Gold Coast.

Meanwhile, the cabinet, consisting of eight African Ministers and three European officials, is getting on with plans for industrialization and agricultural reconstruction so as to lay a firm economic foundation upon which a healthy democratic society can be constructed. Within the short period of six months in office, Dr. Nkrumah has proved his statesmanship and sense of responsibility, which British and American public opinion have been generous enough to recognize.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

J. R. Booker
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Telephone: 2-4248

Flowers & Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 7171

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1182 Seventh St., Oakland 7
Telephones: Berkeley 1-7417—
Templebar 6-3535

Joseph Landisman
2229 Macdonald Ave., Richmond
Telephone: Beacon 4-4782

Thomas G. Neusom
1111 E. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 6149

Matthews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews—David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9737—ADams 1-8712

Lionel J. Wilson
Adeline & Alcatraz Sts. Berkeley
Telephone: OLympic 2-8976

Vaughns & Yonemura
(Geo. R. Vaughns & Mas Yonemura)
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 20
Telephone: Twinoaks 3-9688

GEORGIA

Austin T. Walden
200 Walden Bldg., Atlanta 3
Telephone: Walnut 3536

ILLINOIS

William Henry Huff
6532 Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago 37
Telephone: NOrmal 7-6800

Loring B. Moore
123 W. Madison, Chicago 2
Telephone FRanklin 2-1106

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427 W. 30th St., Mattocks Bldg.,
Indianapolis 8
Telephone: Wabash 1444; Talbott 1791

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Indianapolis 4
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Logan W. McWilson
189 Halsey St., Newark 2
Telephone: MArket 3-1779

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Broad St. Bank Bldg.
Trenton 8
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Telephone: CHerry 1-1835

Chester K. Gillespie
508 Public Sq. Bldg., Cleveland 13
Telephone: CHerry 1-1835

PENNSYLVANIA

Theodore Spaulding
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Telephone: LOcust 1317

TEXAS

F. S. K. Whittaker
711 Prairie Ave., Houston 2
Office: FA4895; Home: FA0853

VIRGINIA

Reuben E. Lawson
403 Gainsboro Rd., N. W., Roanoke
Telephone: 9751

WEST VIRGINIA

Willard L. Brown
Suite 202, Brown Building
Washington at Jacob St.
Charleston
Telephones: 30-341; 21-470

BOOK REVIEWS

(*Continued from page* 195)

come together for anything—even so unracial a thing as say, a Christmas party—but that the principal subject of conversation is race. One grows mortally sick of it."

This poison eats at the marrow of one's bones. And the author describes the plight of the Negro in this way:

"One's heart is sickened at the realization of the primal energy that goes undeflected and unrefined into the sheer business of living as a Negro in the United States—in any one of the United States. Negroness is a kind of superconsciousness that directs thinking, that dictates action, and that perverts the expression of instinctual drives which are salutary and humanitarian. . . ."

These observations are mixed with personal experiences. The racial attitudes of his mother and father; his experiences in a New England college; his wooing by the Communists; his experiences as a teacher; and one of the most moving episodes of all the one in which he tells how his young son learned what it was to be a Negro.

Mr. Redding offers no solutions, but he does outline the attitudes of Negroes and classifies them according to their cures into gradualists, race chauvinists, educationists, individualists, radicals, and integrationists. He himself is an integrationist.

Here is a book which will give pause to every thinking American.

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HAMMERSTEIN TURNS SALESMAN—*Oscar Hammerstein II, famed producer of Broadway hit shows, takes an order for tickets for NAACP's "Great Night," a mamouth entertainment presented at Madison Square Garden on March 6, from Dr. and Mrs. Cecil Marquez of New York City. The show was under the co-chairmanship of Mr. Hammerstein and Lena Horne and featured a galaxy of stars of stage, screen, television, and radio.*

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